

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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The Repulsiveness of the German State

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE H. MEAD, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

There are voices heard in Germany, occasionally reaching the outside world, that betray serious anxiety in regard to the esteem in which Germany will be held after the war. It is a practical matter. Men and women cannot be forced to buy of those whom they hate nor to sell to those whom they detest. The German statesmen may assure their countrymen that, in the treaties made after a German victory, profitable commercial relations will be assured with all the world and their enemies; but those Germans who will stop and consider that all the world and the enemies of the central powers are almost synonymous, and that even a crushing victory cannot compel trading, must look with growing distrust to the future.

Nor is this anxiety confined to the economic situation. It extends to the profounder experience of seeing one's self as others see him. Back of the extravaganzas which the overweening pride in German Kultur, the arrogance springing from the assumption of victory, and the intoxicating dream of world control have woven in the German spirit, lies the uneasy sense that they must live in a world in which they are regarded with a sense of growing detestation, not to say abhorrence.

There is a stimulus in the fear and hatred with which your enemies regard you, while you are under the elation of success. They call out the sanguine emotions arising from the consciousness of superiority to others. Even if it is the hatred felt by the conquered, the excitement of this emotion sweeps men along into vivid conduct and experience. But repulsion felt for him by others can arouse in a man none of the excitement and elation of conflict. One may bitterly resent the implication of repulsion or clothe himself in the sense of his superiority, but these attitudes are not in the long run interesting or stimulating. The effect of being repulsive to one's neighbors gives rise to unrelieved depression, a depression which is in direct proportion to the actual unavoidable intercourse, and the intercourse which is desired but is unattainable because of the abhorrence in which one is held. The attitude which we assume toward those whom we hate involves active hostility of feeling, if not of action, but it is an attitude which keeps the enemy constantly present in the mind. It normally reaches a climax and subsides, and as the emo-

tion subsides the grounds of hate tend to lose their force. In the case of fear, the vivid interest in the fearful object tends to keep it also before the mind and to lead to some solution which will free us from the emotion. In the case of repulsion, however, the instinctive tendency to keep the object away, or, if that is not possible, to keep ourselves out of its presence, leads to no solution of the emotional situation, and the attitude is one which may persist indefinitely. There are few whom we can actively hate or fear through long periods of time, but there are an indefinite number of persons and things that throughout a lifetime may be repulsive to us. Furthermore, the emotional attitude of repulsion shuts out other emotional responses, which come in to alleviate or change the attitudes of hatred or terror. It is almost impossible even to pity what disgusts us, and friendliness and affection are impossibilities while the attitude persists. But even hatred may leave the door open to admiration and love, and fear combines with affection to produce reverence.

If, then, Germany is arousing this sentiment in the world, the effect may be more serious than any other which can overtake her. There are indications of the growth of this sentiment. Those who have found themselves among the French have recognized it, and recognized it as different from the attitude which was dominant earlier in the war. Germany has become a repellant object, to be crushed if possible, but in any case to be got away from as loathsome. In England the liberal-minded men who rejected the proposals of the Versailles Conference which prepared for an economic war after the war, are recognizing the wisdom of organizing the rest of the world with the Germans left outside. For this policy there is presented, as a ground, the pressure which the prospect of such an exclusion will exercise in forcing a change of mind upon Germany herself, but back of this lies the feeling that with a nation, such as Germany is to-day, it would be impossible to keep house. The earlier conception of Germany's position in the world called for a change of its government in the interest of the German people as really as in the interest of the rest of the world. President Wilson's distinction between the German government and the German people reflected that attitude. But there has arisen another

feeling as to Germany, its government and its people—a feeling that the German government is an entirely natural expression of the German community, its people, and its history. The medievalism of feudal loyalty seems as genuine as the medievalism of feudal control. The effect of four years of war has been to relieve, in some sense, the people and the government of Germany of conscious responsibility for what they have done; for being what they are, they could not well have done otherwise. Lichnowski's revelations even have not left us with the same sense of distribution of responsibility for the events of the war as that with which we regarded the first letting loose of the Kaiser's army corps.

Just as Germany's government and Germany's people have never been able to understand that America is not preparing to use its force for the purpose of exploiting Mexico and the Central and South American countries, simply because our fundamental political habits do not allow us to undertake to control other peoples against their wills, just so has it been next to impossible for the American to comprehend how naturally and how logically the German community conceive of the use of force as the one natural means of carrying on international intercourse. Belgium and Serbia to-day are natural expressions of the political habit of the German people, just as the government of German Poland has been the natural expression of the German attitude of spirit, and as German colonial policy has expressed German instinctive reactions toward those whom they undertake to govern. German brutality in West Africa, German atrocities in Belgium, German devastation in Serbia are but the logical development of German government at home. The efficiency and even humanity of the German police implies its acceptance by the community. A control which is accepted can be rendered efficient with the efficiency of a machine. But a control which is not accepted, and which has no principle except that of force in its enforcement, which sees in refusal to obey no problem for statesmanship, but only for repression by a vigorous administration, must push its exercise of force to the limit which the stubbornness of the revolt demands.

In an international situation where force is recognized as the essential expression of the state toward those whom it opposes, there is not even the logical opening for the recognition of the individuality of the enemy, which criminal law gives to the criminal. An enemy people is to be crushed, and even those measures which are not those of actual physical annihilation take on the form of the invasion of the national personality of the enemy. The administration of Belgium under German occupation has been directed toward the disintegration of its national consciousness, especially in the effort to foster a Flemish sentiment which would affiliate itself with the dominating German state. The plans for the occupation of French territory called for the elimination of enough of the French population, so that it could become German in its culture. The program

of the occupation of the border dependent states, which Germany is erecting between itself and Russia, calls for the alliance of the German government with those classes which will be dependent upon Germany for their dominant position in these states, and which will be expected to spread German influence in their communities. The whole program of *Mitteleuropa* contemplates the bringing about of such German organization of industry, commerce, scientific direction, finance, and political orientation that the independent action on the part of the different peoples and nations, that were to fall within it, would have been impossible. Direction in the essentials of life under this program would have inevitably passed into the hands of a bureaucracy sitting at some central point, presumably at Berlin. The spirit of the German state is as hostile to independence of conception and action on the part of the communities that are its own allies, as it is toward its enemies.

A state whose principle is force cannot recognize the ends and purposes of other communities as worthy of achievement, for in that case force would become a mere means for the accomplishment of other things, and not the essence of the state. Such action as that of the United States in Cuba has proved quite incomprehensible to the German. The existence of other states with their independent power is, from a logical German point of view, a subtraction from the power which the German state might and should have. The accomplishment of the impulse, implied in the German state, is inevitably the achievement of universal domination. Every added item of efficiency and social organization in the German state has made it more formidable to the world.

Wilson's announcement that America never again would annex by conquest another foot of the soil of another people, was not an announcement in the spirit of renunciation, but of the principle of a community which could express itself in recognizing the value to itself of the existence and independence of other communities. It recognized an international society within which national self-consciousness attains its fullest expression. Contrast with this the pronouncement of an eminent authority on international law in the University of Leipzig. Interrogated by a society in Holland, which was devoted to the interests of international law, on the form which international law would take after the war, his answer was the logical development of the principle of the German state; he contemplated of course the victory of the central powers, and in that event he assured his questioners that after the war there would be no international law; that the direction of the affairs of the world would be in the hands of Germany; nor need, said he, other peoples regard such an outcome with apprehension, for the justice and consideration of Germany for other peoples, under her wise direction, were not to be doubted.

I hasten to recognize the comment that must be in every reader's mind, that Germany and her allies have had no monopoly of the attitude of crushing

one's enemies, with the implication of their surrender of national individuality. Every nation, which has talked of "manifest destiny," which has assumed the "white man's burden" of governing other people as the inevitable function of superior races and nations, every nation which has been imperialistic, since Virgil called to his Roman lord,

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,

has sought to gratify its ambition by the destruction of the national life of other peoples, often under the plea that the destruction of the subject nation's autonomy is the condition of governing it better than it could govern itself. America herself started along this imperialistic highway, in its conquest of the Philippines; but eventually America's political habits led to a new orientation, and government without the consent of the governed changed into giving the Filipinos the means and mechanism of governing themselves. It is this new orientation which England is taking in her reforms in India. It is this orientation which will force her to settle the Irish question in the manner which the Irish people themselves really demand.

It remained for Germany to create a state that rules at home as imperialistic liberal states have ruled abroad. Germany has accomplished this by welding together feudal institutions and feudal loyalties remaining over from the medieval period with the mechanisms of modern life, and it is this fusion which constitutes her Kultur. It undertakes to govern its own people better than they could govern themselves under so-called liberal institutions. Such a state calls for obedience, and this obedience is demanded not because the people have made their own laws, but because its bureaucracy enforces the laws which the bureaucracy has itself made. From the standpoint of the governed, the principle of such a state is force and not reason. It should be added that such a state can maintain itself at home only by success in the external mechanism of government, and by the sense of prestige which the people draws from the fear which the state inspires abroad. This, then, is the issue that in its fourth year is becoming the issue of the war: a Kulturstaat or a society of nations which is organized to recognize the rights of the members of the society. For there can be but one Kulturstaat; or if more than one exists, they can exist at the same time only through a truce. A state whose principle is force can never be at peace until it is recognized as dominant or is itself conquered. It can recognize only the peace of the throne or of the grave. Two circumstances have sharpened this issue—the entrance of America into the war, with that formulation of its own political attitudes which President Wilson has so successfully made, and the Brest-Litovsk treaties, with their sharp assertion of force as the principle of order in international life. When Lenine and Trotzky referred to the formula of self-determination and no indemnity, General von Hoffmann referred to the victorious German army which stood without opposition on Russian land.

In the medieval period the assault of such a state upon the peoples of other communities would have aroused fear or hatred, but not repulsion. Men then accepted the principle of authority embodied in their ecclesiastical and feudal institutions. The political individuality of a people was determined by its dynasty. A man was a subject and not a citizen. He might resent to the point of the sacrifice of his life the forcible transfer of his subjection from one sovereign to another, but the warfare which undertook such transfers was after all on all fours with the ideas embodied in their institutions and called out no abhorrence. With the gradual growth of the national states there arose something more intimate in the community consciousness, and attacks upon the country brought with them a feeling of an attack upon that which made up the personality of the citizen of the country. But nationalism itself since the middle of the nineteenth century has become a different manifestation from the earlier sentiment. It has become an expression of the life of the nation in the consciousness of the individual. Nationalism has had its romantic period as has every phase of the life of human spirit, and this has made politics as much a part of the inner life of the individual, as religion and art became during the early part of the nineteenth century. Devotion to a country is no longer devotion to a land nor to its king, but to a social organization which exists for the citizen in his own self-consciousness. In a much greater degree, than ever before, a man's consciousness of the society to which he belongs enters into his personality. This has been formulated in terms of natural rights—a very insufficient expression—but they indicate that in the modern man his political relations are an integral part of the man himself.

Certainly there has never been a period in the history of the world, in which the program of intensive domination of other peoples, which is embodied in the very nature of the German autocratic and bureaucratic state, could carry with it such a profound invasion into the very personalities of the peoples whom Germany attacks and undertakes to subdue. And it is from this fundamental assault that men turn with abhorrence. Beside the fury of anger that responds to the attack upon the citadel of one's individuality, there is a repulsion aroused by those who inaugurate the attack, that has recorded itself in terms such as Hun, and Boche, and it is this repulsion which Germany has invited from all the world by what she is and by what she has undertaken to do.

Finally, it remains as yet an open question to what extent the German people will continue to accept the implications of the form of their state. It is at present a hazardous undertaking to determine how far party, popular, and economic opposition to the directing forces in the German state, lie inside of the traditional structure, and to what extent they actually contemplate a different attitude of spirit, and such a different political control that Germany could enter into an international society on the basis of right instead of might.

Further Evidence in the Case Against Germany

BY PROFESSOR LAURENCE M. LARSON, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

The military operations of the past month have netted a greater measure of success for the cause of the Allies than those of any other corresponding period since the beginning of the war. September has been a month of victories—and important advances have been reported nearly every day. On the French and the Flemish front the German forces have been steadily and relentlessly driven backward in the direction of the Prussian frontier. In eastern Siberia the activities of the Allies have extended several hundred miles into the interior along the Siberian Railway. Progress has also been reported from eastern Russia and from the Arctic front. In Palestine the brilliant strategy of the British command inflicted a crushing defeat on the Germans and the Turks. And the great Allied army at Saloniki, which many military critics have denounced as an idle and useless thing, suddenly found its opportunity, and, driving northward along the Vardar River, split the Bulgarian forces and compelled the Bulgarian government to ask for an armistice.

The recent successes in the Near East open up a field of tremendous possibilities, the realization of which will depend on what course events will take in the weeks before us. It is manifestly unwise to attempt to discuss or even to enumerate these but it may be remarked in passing that the collapse of Bulgaria and the consequent isolation of Turkey cannot fail to have a profound effect on public opinion in the Central Powers, and are sure to prove important factors in shaping the future course of the war.

The month of September has also seen the publication of a series of documents which are likely to prove of great interest to future students of the Great War. It has frequently been remarked that we shall know nothing very definite about the genesis of the present conflict until the various governments shall decide to open their archives and disappointed statesmen shall begin to compose their memoirs. It will doubtless be some time before we shall be able to reap a considerable harvest of such materials but the past four years have not been wholly barren, and it is now possible to speak with confidence on several important matters concerning which the neutral world at least was greatly perplexed in the earlier months of the war.

In addition to the "Books" (Grey, White, Blue, etc.) and other official documents published by the various belligerent governments there has appeared a series of publications of a more private and personal character which throw much light on certain important problems in the early history of the war. The interest of these documents centers chiefly about four questions:

1. Were the Central Powers preparing for war before the assassinations at Serajevo?

2. Was a war council actually held at Potsdam on July 5, 1914, at which plans were laid for an early war, as has been charged?

3. Did the German government know the contents of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was transmitted?

4. Did the German chancellor in his speech of August 4, 1914, state correctly the attitude of his government toward the violation of Belgian neutrality?

If the information that has become accessible in the publications referred to above is genuine and reliable (and in most cases the documents have not been questioned), it now seems possible to answer all these questions in the affirmative. The more important of these "disclosures" may be listed as follows:

1. The Giolitti Speech.¹ In December, 1914, Signor Giolitti, an Italian statesman, stated in a speech to the Chamber of Deputies that a year before the outbreak of the war (August 9, 1913) while he was Prime Minister of Italy, Austria had proposed an attack on Serbia. Italy, however, was not disposed to support her ally, and war was averted.

2. The Kaiser's Cable Message to President Wilson.² The original of this interesting telegram was brought from Germany by Ambassador Gerard, and was first published in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 5, 1917. It was sent from Berlin, August 10, 1914, while the invasion of Belgium was still going forward. The chief importance of the message lies in the admission that the neutrality of Belgium "had to be violated by Germany on strategical grounds.

3. The Willy-Nicky Correspondence.³ In 1917 the Kerensky government published a series of letters and telegrams that had passed between their Imperial Majesties in Berlin and Petrograd in the years 1904-1907. These are valuable chiefly as revealing the slight regard which the Kaiser showed for the rights of neighboring states; at that time it was Denmark that was in the greatest danger.

4. The Secret Treaties. These are a series of agreements entered into by the Allies in the earlier

¹ "International Conciliation," No. 127 (published by the American Society for Conciliation), pages 388-389; see also "War Cyclopedia" (publication of the Committee on Public Information), under "Austria and Serbia, 1913."

² See Ambassador Gerard's book, "My Four Years in Germany."

³ See "War Cyclopedia," under "Willy-Nicky Correspondence."

stages of the war. Most of them were given to the public in November, 1917, by the Bolshevik government. Much has been made of them by writers who wish to convict the Allies of imperialistic ambitions. It should be remembered, however, that they were born of the war and can consequently not be regarded as embodying the causes of the war or as explaining its origin.

5. Ambassador Morgenthau's Story. This is a narrative of events in Constantinople during the first two years of the war; it is being published as a serial in the *World's Work* magazine. Of greatest importance is the instalment for June in which Mr. Morgenthau affirms, on the authority of the German Ambassador at Constantinople, that the Potsdam War Council of July 5, 1914, was held as charged. Interesting details are given as to the composition of the conference: "The Kaiser presided; nearly all the ambassadors attended. . . . Moltke, then Chief of Staff, was there representing the army, and Admiral von Tirpitz spoke for the navy. The great bankers, railroad directors, and the captains of German industry, all of whom were as necessary to German war preparation as the army itself, also attended." Mr. Morgenthau's account also reveals the methods employed by the German representatives in Constantinople to force Turkey into the conflict.

6. The Mühlen Revelations.⁴ Dr. W. Mühlen was in 1914 one of the directors of Krupp's, the great munitions firm at Essen, and in this capacity came into contact with some of the more important statesmen and financiers of Prussia. He seems also to have been employed on occasion by the German foreign office. Soon after the outbreak of the war he resigned "once and for all from the directorate of Krupp's works," and in 1917 he ended his connection with the foreign office and withdrew to Switzerland. Here he prepared a statement in which he gives the substance of certain conversations which he had in July, 1914, with Dr. Helfferich, Herr Krupp von Bohlen, of the Krupp firm, and Foreign Secretary von Jagow. From these conversations Dr. Mühlen gathered much important information:

(1) That the German government was acquainted with the contents of the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia before it was delivered.

(2) That the Kaiser had approved the ultimatum and had promised to mobilize if Russia should mobilize against Austria.

(3) "That the Kaiser's Scandinavian cruise was only a blind."

(4) That the great German financial institutions (especially the *Deutsche Bank*) had made preparations and were "ready for all eventualities."

(5) That not all Germans approved of the ultimatum, the terms of which appear to have been arranged between the Austrian government and the Kaiser without the customary intervention of the foreign

office. When von Jagow was called into consultation, "the Kaiser was so deeply committed that it was already too late to take any steps consistent with diplomatic usage."

7. The Lichnowsky Memorandum.⁵ Further evidence that the German war party planned the war at the Potsdam Council came in the early months of the present year from a most unexpected source—a memorandum by the German ambassador to Great Britain in 1914.

In the years prior to the Great War there was much dissatisfaction in Germany with the results of Prussian diplomacy, and especially with its achievements at Westminster. When the position of ambassador to England became vacant in 1912, the Kaiser and his chancellor selected Karl Max, Prince Lichnowsky, a Silesian grandee of great wealth, to fill this difficult but important position. The Prince was not a diplomat of the first rank, but he was known to have strong pro-English sympathies, and it was believed that he would do whatever could be done to promote a more cordial feeling between the governments of England and Germany.

In his efforts to carry out his "mission" and secure an understanding with the British foreign office, Prince Lichnowsky almost succeeded; his failure was not due to a want of tact, skill, or ability on his part, but to a lack of support from Berlin. On his return to Germany in August, 1914, he was received with cool civility and bitter reproaches. The vanity of the Prince was sorely wounded, but he felt that criticism must be silent. To divide the nation at that time would be "unpatriotic and unnational."

For two years the discredited envoy held his peace; but in August, 1916, his resentment grew too strong for him and he proceeded to write a memorandum, in which he reveals his own political plans and his disappointment at the outcome. The document also contains severe criticism of the pro-Austrian policy of the German government, which he charges was the responsibility for the failure to maintain the peace of Europe.

"My Mission to London" was intended for the archives of the Lichnowsky family, but half a dozen copies were made which were sent to friends of the prince, among whom were the great financiers Ballin and von Gwinner and Theodore Wolff, the influential editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. These three realized the explosive character of the document, and kept it carefully hidden. But a fourth friend, Captain von Beenfeld, of the general staff, was less discreet; he broke his promise and had a number of copies made of the memorandum which he sent to various men, princes and others, who stood high in the government service.

⁴ "Revelations by an Ex-Director of Krupp's." George H. Doran Co., New York. Price, five cents.

⁵ For a good edition of this, see "International Conciliation," No. 127 (American Association for International Conciliation, 407 West 117th Street, New York). It is also published by the George H. Doran Co., New York, under the title, "My Mission to London."

This Captain von Beenfeld was scarcely the sort of man that one should expect to find in the service of the German general staff. He was something of a mystic, deeply interested in problems of religious philosophy and theosophy. During the course of the war he had become a confirmed pacifist, and he proceeded to distribute copies of Lichnowsky's defense because he believed it would promote the cause of European peace.

After a year of circulation in private, the memorandum fell into the hands of some unknown man of radical views who caused it to be published under the title, "Die Schuld der deutschen Regierung am Kriege." In March, 1918, extracts appeared in *Politiken*, a Swedish newspaper of Bolshevik tendencies. The censor now permitted republication in the German press, and Prince Lichnowsky suddenly sprang into European fame.

The Lichnowsky memorandum is in large part made up of criticisms of earlier German policy in Morocco and the Near East, which need not be reviewed in this paper. He also discusses the questions at issue between England and Germany which he so nearly succeeded in bringing to a settlement, particularly the colonial issues and the problem of the Bagdad Railway. All these points have their interest, but for present purposes the important matter is the Ambassador's discussion of Germany's responsibility for the outbreak of the war.

(1) Prince Lichnowsky draws a very sympathetic picture of Viscount Grey, "the man who is decried as 'Liar Grey' and instigator of the world war."

(2) He intimates that the Austrian aristocrats were by no means grief-stricken by the tragic death of the Archduke. "All that I could ascertain later was that among Austrian aristocrats a feeling of relief outweighed other sentiments."

(3) The Prince states that he learned from Austrian sources "that, at the decisive conference at Potsdam on July 5th, the Vienna inquiry [whether Germany would support Austria in her plans against Serbia] received the unqualified assent of all the controlling authorities, with the further suggestion that it would not be a bad thing if war with Russia should result."

(4) During the closing days of July, 1914, Grey strove to preserve the peace of Europe, while in Berlin "pressure was exercised in favor of war. We insisted on war. . . . The impression grew continually stronger that we wanted war under any circumstances."

The Lichnowsky Memorandum created a tremendous sensation. As it would not do to ignore its criticisms, von Jagow promptly came forward with a reply to some of its allegations, which was published March 23, 1918.⁶ The larger part of these "Remarks" is a defense of the policies of the German foreign office which need not detain us. But two points deserve to be noticed:

(1) Von Jagow acquits England of the responsibility for bringing on the war. "I by no means accept the view that is widely held among us to-day, that England laid all the mines for the outbreak of the war; on the contrary, I believe in Sir Edward Grey's love of peace and in his earnest wish to arrive at an understanding with us."

(2) He does not deny that a war council was held at Potsdam on July 5, but contents himself with the remark that he "was absent from Berlin" on that day. He adds that he returned the next day from his wedding journey.

8. The Sisson Documents. On September 15, 1918, the American press began the publication of a series of remarkable documents, sixty in all, which had come into the hands of an American journalist, Mr. Edgar G. Sisson, while in Russia as the representative of the Committee on Public Information. The authenticity of these documents has been called into question, but thus far no detailed analysis or argument has been presented that should lead us to discredit the entire series.

At the same time the possibility of forgery must not be ignored, and it would not be surprising if the documents were to be found of unequal value as historical sources.

The Sisson papers deal almost exclusively with the methods employed by the Germans in Russia and with the "business relations" of the German government with the chiefs of the Bolsheviks. Knowing what we do of the methods employed by the German secret service, we should not be surprised to find that bribery and treachery seem to have been used quite freely and frequently. It must, however, have been something of a shock to those who still believed in the idealism of the Russian revolutionists to learn that the revolution was financed and in great part directed from Berlin.

There are several documents in the Sisson collection which, if their authenticity is established, furnish conclusive evidence that Germany was preparing for war several weeks before the outbreak, and that she was secretly attacking the United States as early as the winter of 1914-1915.

(1) A circular letter dated June 9, 1918, and sent by the German general staff to the military attaches in various European countries, authorized them to draw on certain special war credits "for the destruction of the enemy's factories, plants, and the most important military and civil structures." The latter continues with details as to how this may be accomplished. This was seven weeks before Germany declared war.

(2) On the same day a circular was sent out ordering the industrial concerns of Germany to open "the documents with industrial mobilization plans."

(3) On November 28, of the same year, the German naval general staff ordered the naval attaches "to mobilize immediately all destruction agents and

⁶ See "International Conciliation," No. 127, pages 352-367.

observers in those commercial and military ports in Canada and America where munitions are being loaded on ships going to Russia, France and England." It is recommended that anarchists, escaped criminals and German officers be employed with others to carry out the order.

(4) A few weeks later the general staff sent similar instructions to the military attaches in the United States, calling specific attention "to the possibility

of hiring destruction agents among members of anarchist organizations."

The naval attache, Captain Boy-ed, and the military attache, Captain von Papen, evidently proceeded to carry out these instructions to the letter. Their intrigues continued for about a year, but on December 5, 1915, our government demanded their recall, and a few days later they received orders to return to Germany.

The English Background of American Institutions

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE B. ADAMS, YALE UNIVERSITY.

If the teaching of history has been accused of prolonging ill-feeling towards Great Britain after it should have passed away, the teacher is offered now abundant opportunity of restoring the balance. Such foundation as the accusation had was probably never due so much to the misdeeds of the teacher as of the text-book which tended to follow, in most cases apparently with little reflection, a model become almost traditional. However this may be, and with or without a book, the teacher has now an opportunity never before presented not merely to remove a wrong impression or to state facts as they ought to have been stated long ago, but to take part in a work of positive construction for the future of the greatest importance to civilization.

The war has taught us clearly, it will before its close I believe have taught the whole American people clearly, two things. One is that the United States and England, the people of America and the people of the British Empire, are so nearly alike in their fundamental political ideas, aims and institutions, in their attitude towards questions of foreign relations and their intentions towards other nations, that a common policy in relation to all the rest of the world would be as easily formed between them, and as easily conducted, as between New York and Iowa, or any two of our states. The close association together of American and British soldiers by the million at the front, in conditions which inevitably reveal man to man as he really is, is going to bring about a common understanding and recognition of the character and purpose of the two peoples as tons of propaganda could not do. In this is an immediate opportunity never before offered to influence public opinion in favor of some close degree of union in international questions. It will be ground richly prepared for seed. To no one does the opportunity come more naturally and directly than to the teacher, and to very few as naturally and directly.

The second thing which the war will have taught us clearly is that had such a union in international policy existed at the beginning of 1914 between all English-speaking peoples, and had it been definitely known to the rest of the world as an alliance determined to protect democratic freedom and international faith the gain to civilization would have been

enormous, for there would have been no war. The side of justice and fair-dealing and international honor and peace would have been too heavily weighted. This lesson will not be so immediately open to the learning of every man as the first. It is not to be learned by mere observation like that, but requires some knowledge of facts as they occurred and some reasoning. But the truth of the matter is not difficult of demonstration, and the facts are of a sort which it falls within the peculiar business of the teacher to make known, and as well to drive home the conclusions. Nothing could be more usefully done, if for no other reason because it shows in a most striking and significant case what the value of such an alliance might be for the future. It is highly probable that at the close of the war the ability of the English-speaking nations to preserve the peace of the world will be relatively greater than ever before. In saying this I do not refer merely to the relative military and naval strength which will probably be theirs, fully prepared, but I refer also to the fact that they, in common with others, but even more clearly than others, will have discovered, as was not possible to anyone in January, 1914, why, and how, and against what, the world should be on guard. I have no doubt that many other nations will be ready to assist, but an intelligent union in policy now of the English-speaking nations will beyond question give them the opportunity and the chief responsibility for the future. And without this Anglo-Saxon union in policy, what nation is going to take the lead and bring the others into its plan for permanent peace? What other nation indeed has a plan or is alive to the necessity? If the Anglo-Saxon nations are not ready at the moment when peace comes to assume the leadership and secure the progress of the future in this direction, there will be great danger that the opportunity will be lost.

I am not trying to assert that in bringing about a consummation of this kind, the teacher, as a teacher, can bring his influence directly to bear on the leaders of public opinion, or even on the mass of the voters. Nor do I think he will often find natural opportunity to preach in so many words the gospel of Anglo-Saxon alliance. But I do mean that among the influences going to make up the public opinion of the

community, there is scarcely one which is stronger or more surely fruitful than the attitude on any public question of the teacher before his pupils, or his direct words where the occasion of speaking is naturally offered. The American public school is a good part of the heaven at work in the community, one of the profoundest sources of democratic decision, and on many questions with which the daily lessons are not directly concerned. And further I do mean that an immediate and unforced opportunity is offered the teacher to help to form the national purpose in this regard.

This last point is, I imagine, for most teachers the practical matter. What opportunity is offered either in history or civics to influence opinion, directly or indirectly, in favor of a common Anglo-Saxon world policy for the future, what opportunity that will not seem to the pupil artificially made, and therefore likely to be of little value? It is my special wish to emphasize one answer, which I believe to be among the best which can be given to this question. I am strongly of the opinion that one of the most, probably the most necessary and effective thing that can be done for the end in view is to bring the American people to see that in all the essential and deeper matters of national and international life we are already at one with England, or perhaps I should say, to strike the real difficulty as most feel it, that England is at one with us. The chief obstacle I believe in the minds of all who hesitate is a feeling of suspicion and distrust towards an undemocratic, land and ocean grabbing, imperialistic monarchy, as it is conceived to be. It is a feeling that to unite with England in a common world policy is to unite with a foreign nation, different from ourselves in institutions, practices, ideals and ambitions. It is a fear that, if we commit ourselves to such a policy, we shall find ourselves involved in schemes of exploitation and dominion of which we do not approve and in a general attitude towards other nations which we believe we have outgrown. The great practical problem presented to all those who can see for themselves what a tremendous advance the civilization of the world will gain from such a union is how to convince the American people that in these particulars of democratic spirit and international purpose, England is not a foreign nation.

It is in the solution of just this problem that the teacher of history stands in a position of peculiar advantage. More than any other teacher, more even than the teacher of English, it is possible for him in the natural course of instruction to show that in a truly historical sense we are what we are politically, in institutions and their interpretations, because the English are what they are. For in many ways and at many dates, directly and indirectly, he can bring out the fact that the democratic ideals, which are cherished for ourselves and desired for the world by both peoples alike, grow out of the same roots in our common past. Not merely in teaching upon the seventeenth century can the fact be made clear that

the seeds of modern self-government first sprang into life and began to grow towards our present institutions in the England of that century, whence they were brought, already beginning to grow, to this country. I think it will be found an element of considerable interest in practical teaching that since the date of the Puritan Revolution our separate constitutional developments have run each its own course to the same end, like parted branches of a single stream each in its channel, and, it may be, like them to be united again, in purpose, if not in form. Even so unpromising a period as our second war with England may be made to show, in spite of disputes about more superficial matters, the essential unity of the two peoples in their deeper convictions as to the duty of free nations in the world and the natural results of the domination of a great military power. Anything which the teacher may find opportunity to do to bring home strongly and clearly to the mind of the pupil these common roots of institutions and ideas and common results will be greatly to the purpose. I had in mind, however, not merely the lessons and proofs that come direct from history, but even more the many common and disregarded facts of daily life which show that the background of our whole institutional system, of all our history indeed, is the background of English history. A good deal of this instruction may be made especially effective and interesting because it will lie outside the text-book. A town which happens to have kept the name of recorder for a police justice enables its public school teachers to set a neat problem for the pupil to find out the origin of so peculiar a name for such an office. Nearly every public school scholar will know of a legislative officer called the speaker whose office, in spite of its name, deprives him of the ordinary rights of speaking enjoyed by the members of the House to which he belongs. In smaller places and in the country, scholars will know of some farmer, or shopkeeper, or mechanic, entirely innocent of legal knowledge, who holds the high-sounding title of Justice of the Peace, and who in many places still has important legal functions to perform and may try and decide cases. The more advanced pupil will be very likely to know something about the working of the coroner's jury whose action is still called an inquest, or even about the grand jury with its relics of administrative functions, whose action is also still called an inquest in some of our states in the exact sense of the twelfth century. The petty jury is more difficult and less striking as an illustration, but it may be made of use. In some states the township and its functions will make a suggestive connecting link, one indeed joining us to a very long line of history.

This topic comes in peculiar form in those states where two townships exist together, one superimposed upon the other, one a mere measure of land and otherwise totally disregarded, and the other a municipal township bearing its own distinctive name, say the town of Derby, and paying no attention what-

ever in its outlines to the boundaries of the other, the "congressional township." The name "county" is an odd name to be in almost universal use for the territorial division of an American state. If worst comes to worst the name of the town or city in which one lives may make a starting-point, and one that perhaps will have the special advantage of leading back through a series of colonial settlements to the original home for which the first American place was named. Or there may be represented in a class the name of some family which has had a distinguished part in English history. One who bears such a name will usually be eager to study the part the family played, whether the genealogical connection can be made out or not, and may easily acquire an interest that will last for life.

But I am not intending to suggest all possible links, but only examples of what will occur to every teacher and be found in every neighborhood. The main point is that there is abundant evidence to be had in any community that the unconscious background of our institutional life is English history, and that in it is to be found the source not of practices and institutions merely, but of ideas and convictions. It is a part of the natural and direct business of the teacher to bring out this evidence, and so to present it that it may lead to a conviction that those who remained and developed their national life in the original home have not been likely to depart farther from the common sources than we who founded our national life in distant places and developed it in widely different conditions.

Effect of the War on the Supply of Labor and Capital

BY PROFESSOR ERNEST L. BOGART, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS.

Such a subject as this is of course largely one of prediction. The problem is to determine, on the basis of known facts, what may reasonably be expected to happen on the return of peace. But by limiting the inquiry to the larger aspects of two phases only of the vast problem of economic readjustment after the war, it is possible to draw a few conclusions.

1. Population and the labor supply. During the nineteenth century the population of Europe doubled, the rate of growth being somewhat more rapid in Russia and Germany, which trebled their population, while France lagged behind the other countries with only a thirty-five per cent. increase. The war has now stopped this population growth, and has substituted for it the destruction of human life. If the war lasts five years, we shall be safe in estimating the loss of human life, on the basis of known fatalities, at 25,000,000. This is the direct war loss. In addition we must calculate the deaths of children and old people from ill-treatment, malnutrition, and exposure. It is stated, for instance, that not a child born in Poland since the outbreak of the war has survived; there has been a grave increase in tuberculosis and other pulmonary diseases, and in dysentery, typhoid, and cholera in most of the belligerent countries. Europe will emerge from the war with a serious loss of population and a shortage of the labor supply.

Not only will there be an actual shortage in numbers, but a curious distortion in the existing labor force will have taken place. There have been more women than men in Europe for many years, owing to emigration. In 1910-1911 the excess of females in the seven leading belligerent countries in Europe was 5,600,000.¹ Add to this the estimated war loss of

25,000,000 men, and an excess of women in Europe by some 30,000,000 will be created.

In the United States the situation has always been the opposite of that prevailing in Europe. It has always been the land of opportunity, to which has been attracted a steady stream of immigrants, especially of men in the productive ages between 15 and 45 years. During the past hundred years the net addition to our population, through immigration, has been over 30,000,000. In 1910 there was an excess of males in this country of 2,692,000, or about six per cent.² This disproportion will be reduced somewhat by the loss of American soldiers and by the return to their homes in Europe of many men of alien birth. But even after these allowances have been made, there will still be more men than women in the United States after the war.

What effect will the war have upon immigration from Europe to the United States? Will it return to the same channels as before the war?

There will be two sets of counteracting forces at work. The countries of Europe will need to repair the wastes and losses of war, and there will be a great demand for labor. At the same time the labor force will be smaller. Under such circumstances one would expect wages to be high. And they undoubtedly will be higher than before the war, though the disbandment of the armies may lead to their temporary depression at first. On the other hand, the debts of the belligerent countries will be enormous and taxation will be heavy, while prices will remain high for a long time owing to the universal inflation of the currency. There will thus be many inducements to emigration from Europe. This will be especially true of the agricultural sections of eastern Europe, Russia, and southern Italy, where there will be no such industrial expansion as will occur in

¹ W. S. Rossiter, in *American Economic Review*, March, 1917, page 107.

² Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), I, 247.

western Europe and where conditions will probably be hardest.

In the United States a period of prosperity may be expected after the war. Wages will be higher and taxes lower than in Europe. Immigration will consequently be renewed to this country. But it will differ in some respects from the pre-war immigration. There will probably be more women relatively than men. The inequality in this respect between the Old World and the New, enormously heightened by the war, will be in part corrected. The new immigration will, moreover, be subjected to a sifting process which has never been applied before by virtue of the law providing for an educational qualification, passed over the President's veto in February, 1917, and since almost forgotten because of the changed conditions. This will keep out some of the elements which previously made up a large proportion of our immigration.

How will the labor situation in the United States be affected? One change has already occurred, and is now working itself out. This is the great increase in the number of women employed. These will be exposed to a double competition after the war—of immigrants from Europe, especially women; and of men returning from the armies. The former will compete most severely in lines of domestic service, where the present shortage will probably be changed to one of over-supply, and to a lesser extent in the textile and clothing industries.³ The struggle between the men and women will be for the positions in the manufacturing and mechanical industries and in trades which were formerly held by men and have now been invaded by women. It may be that the industrial expansion will be so great that all will be needed to do the work of our factories and workshops, especially in view of the smaller immigration and losses among our own men. In any case readjustments are bound to occur which will influence our whole social development. There is indeed little likelihood that women will wish, or be able, to keep their positions in emergency lines, as conductors on the surface cars, but there will undoubtedly remain as a permanent heritage of the changes introduced by the war not only an increase in the number of women engaged in gainful occupations, but an increase in the variety of occupations opened to women.

Not only will the composition of the labor force be affected, but the position of labor will be altered. One of the first effects of the war has been a great increase in the demand for labor and a rise in wages, especially among the skilled workers in the mechanical trades. The advantages thus obtained will not easily be relinquished after the war. There has also been a growth in the power of labor organizations, and a larger influence in shop management. To be sure, the government has insisted upon the open shop, but labor will be better organized after the war than

before it, and will undoubtedly use its power to obtain and hold gains along many lines.

Many improvements have already been made in the conditions of labor in order to attract the necessary workers. In order to insure an adequate supply as well as to protect the unskilled and unorganized laborers from exploitation, the government and private firms have extended, on a hitherto unknown scale, improved housing, welfare supervision, and betterment work along many lines. More care is being taken of the health and morals of the workers by direct administrative action and supervision. This movement will undoubtedly persist after the war, and probably be enlarged.

2. Capital. By capital or capital goods must be understood the fixed forms in which capital appears—railways, ships, factories, houses, machinery, stores of goods, farm animals and food supplies. A good deal of this existing capital has been destroyed during the war, notably in the case of ships, but probably not so much as has been supposed. The actual destruction is limited to the area of military and naval operations, where ships have been sunk, houses have been burned or demolished, trees cut down, land upturned, cattle killed, and all sorts of improvements destroyed, like roads, railways, telegraph and telephone systems, etc. It is impossible to say how much this has amounted to. About a year ago the loss of public and private property was estimated at \$6,000,000,000.⁴ The additional destruction since that time would probably bring this figure up to between nine and ten billion dollars. If to this there is added the loss of ships, amounting to not less than \$2,500,000,000, the total may be estimated at the end of four years of war at about \$12,000,000,000.

The losses in capital have not been confined to the outright destruction of ships and other instruments of production. There has also been a steady deterioration of the plant by means of which production is carried on. The normal additions to the national industrial plant, except for war purposes, have been stopped; that is, no more houses, factories, railways, roads, public buildings, etc., are being constructed for usual purposes. These items have almost absolutely disappeared from the budgets of the belligerent countries, as England, France, and Germany. England expended on such items in 1907 about \$950,000,000;⁵ a decade later practically nothing. Professor Alfred Marshall has estimated that one-fifth of the existing capital invested in plants, machines, tools, and similar things must be replaced if we are to keep even; more if we are to progress. It is evident that during the war the world is slipping back economically.

Not even the waste and deterioration from natural wear and tear has been made good. Railways have run down, obsolete machines have not been replaced, repairs have not been made except in so far as they

⁴ *World's Work*, April, 1917, page 588.

⁵ Brand, in *Bankers' Magazine* (New York), November, 1917, page 608.

³ Cf., *Statistics of Occupations*. Thirteenth Census of the United States (1910), pages 313, 421, 431.

have been absolutely necessary to keep things running. This expenditure in England amounted a decade ago to \$900,000,000 a year; to-day it is a fraction of that sum. In the United States the railways had been permitted to run down physically; the production of domestic freight cars declined from the high-water mark during the last five years of 234,758 cars in 1912 to 79,367 in 1917, and it is estimated that there is at present a shortage of 120,000 freight cars. The record has undoubtedly been much worse in England, France, Russia, Germany, and the other belligerent countries, where moreover the roadbed and track and bridges have probably suffered equally with the rolling stock. In most of these countries new corporations for non-military purposes have been forbidden, and issues of new stock prohibited. Thus in England the issues of industrial securities were cut down from \$468,000,000 in the first half of 1914 to \$11,000,000 in the same period of 1917. In the United States new promotions have been placed under the supervision of the capital issues committee, which has been very conservative in permitting any issues of securities which might compete with the Liberty Loans or absorb capital needed for war industries.

The main economic waste of the war has not been so much the outright destruction of existing goods and commodities as it has been the diversion of labor and capital from the production of useful things and the replacement of wasting capital and improvements in the material equipment and plant, to the making of munitions and cannon and similar articles. These are not only used up quickly, sometimes in a single act, but they are agents of destruction to destroy other things. And while the world is making these it has not time or energy to produce and replace the other things. Along some lines we have already used up the accumulated stores of years, as in the case of such articles as food, copper, ships, wool, etc., and it will be years before we can catch up again with pre-war conditions.

It was estimated about a year ago that the immediate needs of the world for the first year after the war would be about \$4,200,000,000. The Federal Trade Council estimated the needs of Belgium and France for industrial buildings, for machinery of all kinds, for railroad repairs, bridges, roads, and other government property at \$1,316,000,000. Germany's needs for food supplies and raw materials were calculated at \$1,890,000,000, Austria-Hungary would want \$400,000,000, and Russia \$600,000,000. All of these figures would be much higher now as existing stocks of capital have been further depleted.

But the amounts needed to provide for immediate needs and to start the industrial machinery going again does not begin to measure the cost of the war or the economic burdens imposed upon future generations. The money cost of the first four years of war may be estimated at \$150,000,000,000,* of which the

entente allies have borne about two-thirds and the central powers one-third. This is an incomprehensible figure, and it is still growing. The war is costing over \$100,000,000 a day, or about \$2,000 every second. The present cost of the war exceeds the total wealth of the United States, which represents the accumulations of three hundred years.

But from this sum certain deductions may be made which reduce somewhat the actual burden. In the first place not all of the war expenditures are pure loss. Many of them would have to be made in any case. Soldiers are fed, clothed, and housed at government expense, and the bill is paid out of taxes or loans instead of appearing in the family budget. Secondly, some expenditures represent a productive investment, such as the building of nitrate plants or merchant vessels. After the war is over these will be left as an asset, which will to that extent offset the increase in indebtedness. So munitions plants, navy yards, additions to steel mills and other industrial establishments are not all to be regarded as capital irretrievably lost in the wastes of war. Most of them can and will be used for peaceful production after the war is over, although they now are charged as part of the cost of the war. The editor of the *London Statist*[†] has estimated that about half of the gross costs can be thus salvaged, so that the net money cost would be about \$75,000,000,000 for four years of war.

Even after all allowances are made, however, there will remain an enormous burden of indebtedness, the interest charges on which alone will constitute a crushing load. In Germany the interest on the new debt now created amounts to more than double the total imperial budget before the war; in England the interest charge is one and one-quarter times the former budget. This will entail enormous taxes which must continue for an indefinite time. There is here involved, however, not a question of loss of capital, but rather of the distribution of wealth and the transfer of income from one class to another.

The National Board for Historical Service has announced that the committee, appointed to read the essays written by high school teachers to which the first prize was given in a recently conducted state contest, has awarded the additional prize of \$75.00 to Elmer W. Johnson, Roselle High School, Roselle, N. J. Second and third places are given, respectively, to Gilman H. Campbell, Rochester, N. H., and Theodore C. Blegen, Milwaukee, Wis.

Prof. Herman Ames, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Prof. C. H. Van Tyne, University of Michigan; Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, of the United States Bureau of Education, formed the Committee of Award in this interstate contest, in which sixteen states were represented. Over 650 essays on the subject, "Why the United States Is At War," were submitted by the public school teachers in these contests.

* Cf., my "Direct Costs of the War." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Washington, March, 1918).

[†] *The Statist*, October 23, 1915, page 181.

The Evolution of Democracy in England

BY PROFESSOR CONYERS READ, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (NOW IN THE OVERSEAS SERVICE OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS).

England, though nominally and formally a monarchy, is actually a democracy. That is to say, England is a state in which the powers of government are directly derived from the consent of the governed. In that respect she belongs with the United States and with France, with Belgium and with Italy among the great democracies of the world. She is also the parent of them all. When our forefathers undertook to construct a democratic form of government for independent America it was to England that they turned for a model. The modern democratic constitutions of France, of Italy, and of Belgium were consciously patterned after the English system. So, for that matter, were those of Spain and of Portugal. Even in Germany the program of the Liberal Reform party to-day is essentially an English program. The idea of popular sovereignty is as old as history, but it was left to England to devise the political machinery by which it could be made practically applicable to the complex political problems of the modern world.

The word "devise" conveys a false impression, for it implies an effort of creation directed by a definite ideal. That is perhaps the French way of doing things political, but it has never been the English way. In England political progress has always had something of the aspect of a man groping in the dark for something he knew not quite what. Reaching forth into the future with one hand, the English have always kept fast hold on the past with the other. They have never been prepared completely to abandon what is old and tried for what seems to be better but is new and untried. That is why the most revolutionary changes in the English constitution have usually come under the guise of a reversion to ancient precedents, and that is why the evolution of democracy in England has involved relatively few institutional changes. New wine has been poured into the old bottles, but it has been introduced carefully, in small amounts, while the old bottles were still more than half full of the old liquor.

It is that fact which makes it difficult for the casual observer of English political institutions to admit England into the circle of modern democracies. The formal character of her institutions is so obviously medieval, and the modern spirit which informs them is relatively so unobtrusive, institutions survive which have no apparent function, while practices prevail which you might search the English law books in vain to justify. The King, who is a mere figurehead, is writ as large on the formal documents of state as he was in the heyday of his power. On the other hand, the prime minister, who is the real executive, is almost without formal standing. Even in Parliament, the acknowledged receptacle of English democracy,

the upper house is to-day almost as medieval in its composition as it was in the days of Richard the Lion-hearted. No wonder if under these circumstances the Germans are able to argue with some force that the modern English Government is still essentially feudal in its spirit. They see the old bottles, and in their painstaking way are still able to decipher the dusty old labels. Naturally they demand no further proof of the vintage.

But the historian who seeks to catch the developing flavor of English democracy must not be misled by documentary evidence of this sort. If, for example, we were to compare the prerogatives and powers officially ascribed to King William the Fourth in 1830 with those officially ascribed to King Henry the Eighth in 1530, and went no further into the matter, we might reasonably conclude that William was as stout a fellow in the state as Bluff King Hal. Yet there was in fact a world of difference between their two positions. The interval which separates them reveals a steady encroachment by the English Parliament upon the power of the Crown. In the seventeenth century Parliament had made good its claim to a monopoly of the legislative power in the state. From this vantage point it had proceeded in the eighteenth century to establish its control over the executive power. The king's ministers became in fact little more than an executive committee of the House of Commons. And though they relieved the king of his responsibility for their actions, they relieved him at the same time of his power. The old saw that the king could do no wrong came to mean that officially he could not do anything at all. This state of things existed in fact long before it was recognized in law, nevertheless by 1830 no one whose opinion mattered very much had any serious doubts about it. And yet the king still retained the old titles and the old formulæ of power. Englishmen to this day concede a reverence to their monarch which is likely to deceive the unwary. No doubt learned Germans discover abundant evidences of royal despotism in the assertion of King George the Fifth that he rules by Divine right (*dei gratia*), especially since no one in England ventures to contradict him. And no doubt the same sages find conclusive proof of the undemocratic character of English institutions in the opening words of the English national anthem, "God Save Our Lord and King."

The course of English political development from the end of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century defines itself in terms of the complete subjection of royal power and the establishment of parliamentary supremacy in the State. If it be conceded that royal autocracy was the worst foe which popular government had to fear in England, then it

must be admitted that these two centuries were not without significance in the progress of England toward democracy. At the same time it is certain that parliamentary government as the term was understood in the year 1830 was very far from popular government as we understand the terms to-day. It is true that Parliament claimed to represent the people, but whatever Englishmen thought about it then, few Englishmen nowadays would concede the claim. It certainly did not represent the people in the sense that it was chosen by the people. The fact is that as late as 1830 it was still chosen in very much the same way as it had been at the tag end of feudal days. The members of the House of Lords, if they were no longer technically the king's vassals-in-chief, nevertheless sat by hereditary rights or by royal appointment. They were no more representative in character than the Prussian House of Lords is at this day. Yet they exercised as much control over legislation in England as does the United States Senate over legislation in the United States. The House of Commons no doubt justified its claim to being the more popular of the two houses, but it was not very popular at that. Of the two elements, county and borough, which composed it, neither was in any modern, democratic sense of the term popularly elected. The county franchise was still based in 1830 as it had been based in 1430 upon the purely feudal notion that political privilege was an attribute of land owning. It was in consequence a monopoly of the country gentry. In the boroughs, conditions were so diverse that it is not easy to generalize about them, but by and large it is fair to say that the borough franchise also remained much as it had been in feudal times, that is to say the monopoly of a small group of well-to-do townfolk. With the nobility in possession of the House of Lords, and the gentry and the richer merchants determining the composition of the House of Commons, it is clear that parliamentary government in England in 1830 meant class government at best, and that England then was rather an oligarchy than a democracy.

The middle ages brought forth the English Parliament. The civil wars of the seventeenth century established its supremacy in the State. It was left to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to adapt it to the uses of democracy. The process of this adaptation is a familiar story, but the moving forces behind it are less well-known and are far less easy to define. Probably the success of the American Revolution was not without its influence. No doubt the French Revolution with its gospel of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was in the long run profoundly influential, though its immediate effect upon England was rather to provoke reaction than to stimulate reform. But while influences like these serve to define the ideals of the new era, and in the case of America at any rate to demonstrate their practicability, it was pretty certainly the English Industrial Revolution which furnished the driving power for their realization. For the Industrial Revolution, notwithstanding all

the harm it did, was a great organizing force. By drawing great numbers of men together it created out of countless scattered individuals compact communities, united by their work, united by the proximity of their living, united by their scanty pleasures, united most of all by their common miseries. Life in the tenements of the new industrial centres was indubitably crowded, but for that very reason was inevitably social. The factory system robbed the worker of his individual initiative, but it gave him instead a lively sense of the value and the strength of co-operative effort. The industrial revolution, in fact, while it created a new industrial order, created at the same time a new social and political order. It gave to the enfranchised masses their first real opportunity to unite, and taught them their first lessons in effective organization. Wherever modern English democracy had its birthplace, it was on tenement doorsteps and amidst whirring machinery that it found its strength.

The English masses were slow to discover their strength, and slower still to apply it to the destruction of the old order of things. Notwithstanding the prophecies of their detractors they were, after all, Englishmen, and they revealed, even in their politics, the Englishmen's instinctive reverence for things past. Their program of reform was radical, but it was not revolutionary. They did not talk Republicanism, they did not talk Socialism; all that they really demanded was that the existing political institutions in England should be informed with a democratic spirit. That was the direction of their effort, and that by and large the sum of their achievement. They won their way by slow degrees, and rather by the persuasion of the enfranchised classes than by coercion. The nearest approach to armed political revolution at any stage in their progress was, perhaps, the Chartist movement, and that, as every one knows, was put to rout by nothing more formidable than a London shower.

Space does not serve even to enumerate the various concrete demands of the democratic program. Perhaps the most important of them was for the extension of the franchise. That was fought for and achieved by the usual English method. Beginning in agitation outside Parliament, it won first the ear, then the support of one of the political parties in the House of Commons. Presently it was incorporated in a bill which invariably represented a compromise between what was hoped for and what it was thought could be got. Ultimately the bill, after a more or less violent struggle in Parliament, became a law. Such, in brief, was the history of the four great Reform Bills of 1832, 1867, 1884 and 1918, the first of which found the English parliamentary franchise as it was in feudal days, the last of which has left it more liberal and more democratic than our own.¹ In

¹ The terms of the new English parliamentary franchise are set forth in the Reform Act which became law in England on February 7, 1918. It confers the franchise upon every man in Great Britain and Ireland over twenty-one years of age who has resided in the same place or occupied

the main the progress in this regard is along well-beaten paths. The feudal notion of landed property as the essential condition of political privilege survived the first reform bill; the second, and even the third, though copyholder, and leaseholder, tenant and occupier, were successively admitted to the old monopoly of the freeholder. It was not, indeed, until the reform bill of 1918 that England succeeded in pretty completely breaking with her feudal traditions. And one wonders whether anything short of this stupendous war could have accomplished at one stroke so radical a change.

At any rate, the franchise for the House of Commons is to-day as frankly democratic in spirit as that of any in the world. The House of Lords, however, still stands as it was. Democratic England recognizes and has long recognized that it is an anomaly in a popular government, but cannot altogether forget its long and distinguished history. That is perhaps why there has been less demand for its abolition than for a change in its composition and a diminution of its powers. Something has been done rather lately to satisfy these demands. By the so-called Parliament Act of 1911 the Lords have lost all powers over financial legislation, and have retained only a limited power to delay legislation of any other sort. Something further is promised in the way of making the Lords more representative by Viscount Bryce's commission. But it seems likely that, in some emasculated form or other, the House of Lords will survive for many years to come, partly because the English, like ourselves, believe in a second chamber, partly because the Lords like the king, form part of the average Englishman's innate conception of "Old England" which lies deeper in him and influences his political actions more profoundly perhaps than either his personal interests or his democratic convictions. He has lost faith in his old gods, he has shorn them or will shear them of their old powers, but he still cherishes too strong a sentiment for them to remove them from their old niches.

The charge is commonly made by German critics that in spite of the apparent democracy of the English constitution, England is in fact governed by a

business in the same place for six months preceding the election. It confers the franchise upon every woman in Great Britain and Ireland over thirty years of age who has heretofore enjoyed the privilege of voting in local elections, or who is the wife of a local elector. (The qualification for the local franchise is six months' ownership or tenancy of land or premises. Lodgers in furnished rooms do not qualify.)

It is estimated that this Reform Act has added 8,000,000 voters to the lists, of whom 6,000,000 are women (5,000,000 of them married women), and 2,000,000 are men. With these additions there will be about 16,000,000 people in Great Britain and Ireland qualified to vote for members of the House of Commons—or about one in three of the population. (Cf., for a more detailed statement of the terms of this Reform Act, the *London Times*, weekly edition, February 18, 1918, page 145.)

Tory aristocracy. What they mean by a Tory aristocracy is not altogether clear, but apparently they would have us believe that it is a class of people in England analogous to the landed aristocracy, that is to say, the Junkers in Prussia. There is this much truth in the charge that the English voter prefers on the whole to be represented in the House of Commons by men of social position. But the German is altogether misleading when he attempts to draw an analogy between this state of affairs and the rule of the Junker class in Prussia. In Prussia the Junker dominates the so-called House of Representatives because the inequalities of the Prussian franchise make it practically impossible for the voters to elect representatives of any other sort. The English voter has full power to choose whom he likes, and if the English House of Commons is largely made up of the gentry it is because the English people will it so. They might very easily fill the House with chimney-sweeps to-morrow if they wanted to. What is more to the point, the English gentry retain their position simply upon condition that they reflect accurately the wishes of the people behind them. In Prussia Junker rule has meant legislation in the Junker interests. In England gentry rule has meant legislation in the popular interest. If the English gentry are really, as the Germans insist, Junkers in English clothes, then it is clear that during the last ten years or so these English Junkers have been seriously contemplating suicide, for nowhere in the world perhaps during recent years has the landholding aristocracy suffered more severely from hostile legislation than in England. What with inheritance taxes, income taxes, unearned increment taxes, and the like the large English landowner bids fair to become an extinct animal. On the other hand, nowhere perhaps in the world has recent legislation been more liberal in providing for the necessities of the poor. Old-age pensions for the aged poor and national insurance against sickness, disability, and unemployment for the laboring classes are sufficient evidences of that fact. More than that, in child-welfare acts, sweat-shop regulations, minimum wage laws, and national employment bureaus, England has gone much farther than we have ourselves in the direction of preventing the exploitation of the poor by the rich. Indeed, the common complaint in England among the better-to-do classes is that recent legislation is much more than democratic; it is positively socialistic. If Tory aristocrats can do this sort of thing, then we are bound to confess that whatever their social pretensions may be, their political ideas are quite as democratic as those of the meekest among us.

Two cardinal facts then emerge from a consideration of the evolution of English democracy. The first is that it has been slow, at times almost irresolute and always respectful of the past; the second is that nevertheless it has progressed as far towards the realization of the ideal of popular government as any great democratic movement on earth to-day. In the face of the former fact the latter fact is rather amaz-

ing. Yet it can hardly be gainsaid. However impatient we may be with English methods of progress, however unlike our own they may be, we are nevertheless forced to concede that they are no less effective to their purposes. Going one step back for every two steps forward and looking over her shoulder most of

the time England has notwithstanding held her own with rational France and impetuous America in the march toward democracy.

And so she stands where she belongs beside them to-day, fighting for a common political ideal equally dear to them and to her.

American Catholics and the War

BY THE REVEREND DR. PETER GUILDAY, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY,
THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C., SECRETARY NATIONAL CATHOLIC COM-
MITTEE ON HISTORICAL RECORDS.

The National Catholic War Council has just issued a complete "Handbook" for the guidance of Catholics throughout the country in their co-operation with those governmental and social agencies which have been organized for the winning of the war. The "Handbook" was written primarily, Cardinal Gibbons tells us in the Preface, for the purpose of describing in outline both the causes which brought the National Catholic War Council into being and the social, moral, and religious problems which face the Catholic Church of the United States during the present war. No other organized body in the country realizes more keenly the new internationalism abroad to-day than the Catholic Church. "In the world to-day," says the Cardinal, "the strongest response to this new internationalism must come from the Church of the Ages. The Catholic Church cannot remain an isolated factor in the nation. The Catholic Church possesses spiritual and moral resources which are at the command of the nation in every great crisis." The message of the President to forget local boundaries, local neighborhoods, provincialism and the *esprit du clocher* is a message likewise to the Catholic Church.

How far those spiritual and moral resources shall have been placed by the rank and file of the Catholic body at the command of the Government is a question which after-war historians will answer. The Protestant religious organizations through the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and through the Young Men's Christian Association, and the Jews through the Jewish Welfare Board and the Young Men's Hebrew Association are carrying on a moral and recreational campaign among the members of their belief and those of other beliefs which is being duplicated by the National Catholic War Council through its agency in the camps and overseas—the Knights of Columbus. The absence of all religious rivalry, of prejudice, of narrowness in any form, which is everywhere evident in the mutual co-operation of these three organizations, is an undeniable sign that Americans of all creeds are responding to the call of America's sublime spirit of brotherhood.

To the historian of to-morrow all this will mark the dawn of a new epoch in the preservation of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness within the Republic. But what about the story of all this com-

bined activity? Are there, in the three great organizations—the Y. M. C. A., the Y. M. H. A., and the K. of C.—leaders with sufficient historical perspective to see the value of every line ever written in the promotion of their labors for the social and moral welfare of the men in service? Yes. All this has been foreseen, and even now the archives of these organizations are being classified and catalogued with a view to their future history. Once written, it will be the most wonderful history ever penned by man; it will tell the splendid story of that devotion and sacrifice which burn in the heart of every true American for his fellow-man. Not since Christianity's earliest days will there be a page of history comparable to it.

In a body of national scope and importance, such as the National Catholic War Council, it is but logical to suppose that the leaders from the outset began to vision the future. The question was: What could be done to perpetuate the story of American Catholic patriotic effort? The answer came quite simply: First, gather in the Service Lists of every parish in the land for the great Honor Roll of the Nation. *Colligite fragmenta ne pereant*. With its historical system of government, its fourteen ecclesiastical provinces centered around the greatest cities, and its hundred suffragan bishoprics with their geographically divided parishes, the Church appeared to be and is a very "efficient" system for such research work.

The organization of the National Catholic War Council lent itself with ease to the work. The National Catholic War Council has three operative committees: the Advisory Finance Committee, the Committee on Special War Activities, the Knights of Columbus Committee on War Activities. The Committee on Special War Activities, housed at 930-32 Fourteenth Street, Washington, D. C., consists of several National Standing Committees: the Committee on Finance, on Women's Activities, on Men's Activities, on Chaplain's Aid, on After-War Reconstruction, and the Committee on Historical Records.

The National Committee on Historical Records has as its chairman, the former President of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, the present Rector of Overbrook Seminary, Monsignor Drumgoole, LL.D., and as its Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Guilday. The work outlined for the National Com-

mittee finds its local counterpart in the Diocesan Committee on Historical Records and in the Parish Committee on Historical Records. There are actually in the United States, according to the *Catholic Directory* of 1918, 15,817 parochial units, with 20,477 priests. Here, then, was an army of men, energetic, cultivated, with a keen sense of the value of historical records and of tradition, ready, and, without boasting, eager to aid in the work of gathering in the record of every Catholic boy in the service. In April, 1918, a national appeal was made to the pastors to send in the Service Lists of their parishes; appeals were made by the bishops; the clergy established Honor Rolls at the doors of the churches; letters from the National Committee and from the Bishops were read from the pulpits; blank cards were distributed at the doors of the churches; stirring appeals to the patriotism and to the religious sentiment involved were made by the priests.

The National Catholic War Council, therefore, saw the necessity of bringing its message to the fireside of every home. Every man, woman and child capable of co-operating in the work had to be appealed to individually, and it was then decided to outline the scope of the Council's work within the covers of a serviceable "Handbook," to be scattered broadcast over the country. Time must be given before the effects of this campaign of publicity can be properly gauged.

Fortunately for the Committee on Historical Records, every ecclesiastical centre has by canon law a distinct archive, where all that relates to local Catholic thought, life, and action is preserved. The habit of preservation is not only well established in the episcopal chanceries, but in the parish houses as well. Everywhere there is a pride taken in preserving for the future the story of events of the present. Only an added word of advice to the clergy to preserve all war material was needed. In many cases this material is being sent in to the Diocesan Archives or to the National Committee on Historical Records. Whenever possible such material is copied at the expense of the committee, and thus duplicate copies are obtained. Already thousands of letters, photographs, descriptions of battles, of heroic actions on the field, and of army and navy life, have been collected.

The committee has also begun work along the lines laid down by the National Board for Historical Service in the creation of an intelligent public opinion regarding the conditions which impelled the United States to enter the war and regarding the national problems involved in the prosecution of the war up to a just and lasting peace. Through the Catholic universities, colleges, and academies, the high schools and the parochial schools this campaign of education will gradually find its way. There are about 200 Catholic colleges for boys, 680 Catholic academies for girls, about 5,800 parochial schools, with 1,593,407 children in attendance. There is no need of emphasizing the possibilities for patriotic effort in an educational field so vast as this and so thoroughly organized. Through the other National Standing Com-

mittees, especially the Committees on Men's and Women's Activities, the campaign of co-operation with all governmental and social agencies created for the purpose of winning the war has already begun to assume a definite and positive form.

The National Catholic War Council was created therefore to enable every Catholic in the United States to contribute the best service within his power to the government. One quotation from the "Handbook" will give the reader a glimpse into the spirit that permeates the National Catholic War Council:

"Sharing as we do the inspiration of divine faith; feeling as we do the impulse of a patriotism that is quickened by our belief in the supernatural, we are assured that the problem of placing the church in a position of recognized power in dealing with war conditions is one of good will, not of resources; one of organization, not of choice; one of privilege gladly seized. Prompt surrender, therefore, of all local or sectional points of view, glad obedience to our national, spiritual and civic ideals, and hearty understanding of the elementary truth that system and forethought are the weapons by which we overcome confusion and wasted effort, stand to-day as the sole factors under the Providence of God, which condition our meeting the supreme challenge that has come to us, meeting it in a way that will make the country forever grateful, and the church forever proud."

The National Committee on Historical Records has adopted the shibboleth that every American Catholic should make his contribution to the history of the church's activity in the war. The National Catholic War Council has felt the thrill, and has had the vision, of many impulses, but none mean more in the last analysis than the handing down to posterity the record of Catholic service and sacrifice during these days when all that is noblest in civilization is being held in the balance.

Leslie Urquhart in "The British Policy in Russia" (*Nineteenth Century* for March) claims that it is "no concern of Great Britain and her allies what particular form of government will be finally established in Russia. . . . The hope of the allies will be that, with their moral and material assistance, Russia, after all her suffering and tribulation, will be governed by wise and trusted men for the common good . . . be the form of the constitution what it may. Is it not worth while for Great Britain to earn the gratitude of a great people by doing all she can to help the Russians, who are fighting against terrible odds, to save their country from Bolsheviki and German domination, the two worst enemies of humanity?"

The article by Mary G. Segar in *The Catholic World* for March on "Echoes of the Canticle of Canticles in Medieval Literature" is a study of the influence on medieval songs of the Song of Solomon, and is a most interesting presentation of the scope and characteristic of medieval poetry.

Germany's Grip on Public Opinion

BY LIEUTENANT W. A. CHAMBERLIN, U. S. R.

The solidarity of public opinion in Germany in regard to the war is a feature which has greatly surprised the Allies. It was known that there was a large anti-militaristic party among the German people, and it was assumed that they would oppose the war. But instead of a division of sentiment, all parties have united heartily in prosecuting the war. To us in this country, accustomed to strong party feelings and to sharp conflicts of ideas, this unity of feeling in Germany is hard to understand. It is inconceivable that there is no clash of opinion on the momentous political questions in Germany at the present time. It is explained only by the fact that the free discussion of political matters is not permitted by the German Government, that views opposed to the Government policy are suppressed, and that there is consequently no public opinion in our sense of the word. German national ideals are not shaped by the free interchange of thought, but are moulded by the Government. No tyranny is so dangerous as that which fetters the mind. The German system, organized gradually during the last hundred years, has paralyzed public thought. By active agencies, inculcating certain leading ideas, and by repressive measures to restrict discordant sentiments, the German Government has gained a complete grasp of the public mind, which it holds in inexorable subjection. As the horticulturalist by skilful pruning, leaving certain branches and lopping off excrescences and wild growths, can shape the tree to his liking, so the German Government has moulded its people. The efficiency of its work is shown by the unshaken public confidence in the Army and the Government after nearly four years of unspeakable hardships.

Even President Wilson has tried to distinguish between the German Government and the people in assigning the responsibility for the war. But there is no real difference so far, the people are identical with the Government. Observers of the German people, like Ambassador Gerard, tell us not to expect any revolution. Since 1848 they seem to have lost their independence. Judge Gerard says:

"Nor should anyone believe that Germany will break under starvation or make peace because of revolution. The German nation is not one that makes revolutions. There will be scattered riots in Germany, but no simultaneous rising of the whole people. The officers of the army are all of one class, and of a class devoted to the ideals of autocracy. A revolution of the army is impossible; and at home are only the boys and old men easily kept in subjection by the police."

"Liberalism," says Prince von Bulow, "in spite of its change of attitude on national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a

century ago on the party of progress which still clings to the ideals and principles of 1848."

The strength of the German State rests upon forces which were introduced a hundred years ago in the reorganization of Prussia. After the humiliation of Germany by Napoleon, when the age-long Empire fell apart and the autocratic system of Frederic the Great was crushed, it was necessary to begin from the foundation to rebuild the political structure. An intense feeling of nationalism burst out among Prussians and Germans in general. Prussia possessed at that time a group of eminent statesmen, such as Baron von Stein, Scharnhorst and Wilhelm von Humboldt, who combined liberality of mind and intelligence in rebuilding the State. Great reforms were carried out, touching not only the political status, such as the abolition of serfdom, but more especially moulding the spiritual forces of the nation.

Two systems were established, nation-wide in their operation, which have given to Prussia her distinctive character: universal education and militarism. They account most largely for the homogeneous spirit of the German citizens. Prussia was the first to show their effective use in the State, and has persuaded or forced the other members of the Empire to follow her example.

The philosopher Fichte first pointed out the need of universal education as the foundation of the new State. He proposed the nationalization of Germany through an educational system that would train the whole population for citizenship.¹ "Only that government," is his word, "which first solves the problem of training the all-round complete man through self-activity will then solve the problem of the complete state." He proposed a plan in broad outline for universal education, by which a spirit of absolute loyalty to the State would be effected. Through his "Addresses to the German Nation," he stirred a real enthusiasm for the rejuvenation of Prussia through the process of education. The founding of the University of Berlin in 1810 marks the idealistic impulses which actuated the leaders of reform. Education was made compulsory for all classes. The school system was revised and much improved. William von Humboldt was appointed Minister of Education, and though his term was very brief, he introduced policies that have had far-reaching effect upon German education. He organized the classical gymnasium as the model secondary school. Little by little the State gained control of the educational system and by laws prescribed the types of schools, the subjects of training and the standards of teaching. Early in this movement a governmental decree was issued, requiring a state examination of all candidates for teachers' positions. This took the appointment of teachers out

¹ "Reden an die Deutsche Nation," sixth address.

of the hands of patrons or other private persons, and put it absolutely under the control of the State. Only the State was authorized to determine the candidate's fitness, and to grant him the certificate for teaching. But when the teacher is once appointed, he becomes a State official and belongs to the large army of the German bureaucracy. Henceforth his position and his salary are determined by the State, and he is assured of a permanent place as long as he is loyal to the Government. His professional activity is regulated strictly by the State, as to the subjects he teaches, the hours of instruction per week, and even to the methods he employs. The State leaves nothing to the individual humor of the teacher, but prescribes exact requirements for the whole process of instruction.

The teacher's position in the Government is signalized by his oath of office, in which he swears "to be submissive, loyal and obedient to his Royal Majesty, King of Prussia," and also "faithfully to observe the Constitution."²

The system into which he enters is very rigid and imposes restrictions both upon his public and private life. The teacher is subject to his superiors. He may not marry without their consent. The Director must consent to his taking up outside teaching, and even to his going on a journey in vacation time. But especially must the teacher abstain from all political activity, and from writing on political subjects.

By this cast-iron regulation of the teachers the State has complete control of the training of its growing citizens. So long as it prescribes the subjects of study and the methods to be pursued, it can shape almost to a certainty the character of its people. Loyalty is one of the principles constantly hammered into their minds. The rules³ for Prussian teachers emphasize thorough instruction in German national history, especially in the achievements of the Hohenzollerns. Patriotism is drummed up on anniversary days of great national victories, which are made the occasions for speech-making and conviviality.

The scholars are also closely guarded against pernicious ideas, subversive of their loyalty. Their conduct both in and out of school is regulated by school authorities, and very rigid rules are laid down to safeguard them from wrong influences. They are not permitted to visit public libraries or to draw books from them. They must not receive papers in their own names, or publish school papers. They may not even assemble in any meetings and hold social gatherings, except by special permission and under the supervision of a teacher.

Such rigid methods have resulted in as thorough a training as is humanly possible. The whole population has been nationalized. Illiteracy has almost entirely disappeared, according to the reports for illiterates among the recruits for the army.

The nation ascribes to this thorough training the

credit for her great success. As has been said: "It was the German schoolmasters who won the victories at Sadowa and Sedan." The price that is paid, however, is the loss of independence of judgment. The state schools are the national agencies for propagating the standardized views of the Government "It is inevitable," says Russell, "that a state system of education should be controlled in the interests of the State, but under a bureaucratic government there is danger of using the schools in the interests of the class that happens to be in power. The tendency in Germany to regulate everything that can be regulated applies to the control of public education as to everything else. Little chance is allowed anywhere for individual initiative; small credence is given to the ability of the masses to act aright."⁴

Two cases stand out in which the Prussian State has endeavored by means of the schools to nationalize large sections of anti-German population: in Alsace in the West and in Prussian Poland in the East. The people in these provinces were irreconcilable to German influence so long as they were allowed to use their native language. The Alsations clung to French as the last tie binding them to the fatherland. The Prussian Government ordered the use of German in the schools, in order that the new generation at least would be Germanized. Alphonse Daudet, in his little sketch, "La Dernière Classe," gives a pathetic picture of the grief of the scholars, when they realized that they must give up their own language. It was one of the thorough measures, some of them extremely harsh and others conciliatory, by which Prussia sought to win Alsace away from her French attachments. But the system has been less successful with the Poles. To the requirement that only German should be taught in the schools of Polish Prussia, she added still harsher measures, prohibiting the use of Polish in the religious instruction, in the courts and in public ways. In 1899 the teachers were ordered by a ministerial decree not to use Polish in their homes. In 1906 a widespread strike of the scholars in the Polish schools occurred, who refused to answer questions in German. The Government pursued harsh methods towards young and old to break up this agitation. The police invaded Polish homes and arrested many who were found to have Polish books in their possession. Many officials, school officers and priests were severely punished with fines and imprisonment for participation in this revolt.⁵

The Government makes use of the schools not only for intellectual, but also for religious training of the children. For in Germany the Church is a part of the State, and its interests are carefully guarded. The hours devoted to religious instruction are as strictly prescribed and observed as for any other department. On an average three hours per week are given to such work, and the course for each year is

² Russell's "Secondary Schools in Germany," p. 372.

³ "Lehrplaene und Lehraufgaben fuer die Hoeheren Schulen in Preussen," 1901, p. 48.

⁴ Russell's "Secondary Schools in Germany," p. 189.

⁵ Cf. Dawson's "The Evolution of Modern Germany," p. 474-6.

carefully and specifically planned by the central ministry. Citizenship implies also membership in the State church.

The State manages to keep a firm hand on the religious training, for all of the pastors and teachers in this work are under Government authority. The position of the pastors in the State service is exactly analogous to that of the teachers. All of them must pass through a prescribed course in theology at the university. At the completion of the course a State examination is given, before the candidate can receive a license to preach. His appointment to the clerical office is in the hands of the State. He takes an oath of office at his installation, and enters thus into the State's service.

The "Kulturkampf" in the seventies is the most notorious instance of an attempt by the German Government to coerce religious faiths. It brought the Government into a bitter struggle with the Catholic Church, which it sought to weaken. It brought rancor into political life, built up a strong party of opposition, and ended in a defeat of the Government. The conflict was provoked by the so-called "May laws," which gave to the State the control of the theological seminaries and the appointment to the priesthood. What was this but the revival of the fierce struggles of the Middle Ages over the right of investiture? Naturally the Pope and all Catholics rose in protest and in resistance to this policy. In spite of Bismarck's boast, that he would not go to Canossa, he was obliged after all to capitulate. His efforts to break down the clerical party were a complete failure. That party has held the balance of power in the Reichstag ever since, and is now in strong opposition to the imperial policy.

But universal secular and religious education is not sufficient to explain the uniformity of public sentiment in Germany. Another system was resorted to, a quicker and more active agency to train the national spirit, the Army. The Army is the special pride of the German Empire. It is regarded as the essential bulwark of the State.

"Without the Army, no Germany," was Bismarck's expression, which the people have accepted. The representative scholars of Germany, ninety-three in number, united at the beginning of the war in issuing a manifesto, in which they attempt to justify their military system by declaring that "German militarism is indivisible from German culture. Without it our culture would long since have been wiped off the earth."⁶

Von Buelow, recently Chancellor of the Empire, declared: "Prussia attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she was able to accomplish the work of German union; and to this day she is still in all essentials a State of soldiers and officials."⁷

The Imperial Army, considered as the essential

ally, or rather as the foundation of the Government, is the one unalterable characteristic of the German Empire. When we undertook this war for the purpose of destroying German militarism, as President Wilson declared, we must understand that it amounts practically to destroying the Imperial power, for they are virtually identical.

The idea that an army is essential for national power came from Prussia. For two hundred and fifty years Prussia has been a military nation. By forcible annexations and partitions she has multiplied her territorial area many times. Violated friendships, broken pledges, brute force, mark the pathway of her aggrandizement, in all of which her invincible army has been the indispensable weapon. In three great wars in the nineteenth century Prussia won triumphant success—in the War of Liberation, 1813-14; in the Austrian War, 1866, and in the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-71. In the face of such renowned triumphs all opposition to Bismarck's policy broke down. They seemed to confirm his famous declaration:

"Great questions cannot be decided by speeches and resolutions, but by blood and iron."⁸

The German Army is recruited by universal conscription. The feature of universal military service was a part of the great reforms made by Stein and Scharnhorst in the regeneration of Prussia.⁹ By this stroke they made the Army national. Every man in the Empire belongs to it, as there are no exemptions except for physical disabilities. Universal conscription is based upon the principle that every citizen owes the duty of defending the State, or as expressed by Scharnhorst: "All the inhabitants of the State are born defenders of it."¹⁰

The active service "with the colors" is the most effective agency yet devised for nationalizing the people. No matter what the prejudices and peculiarities of the raw recruit may be, his standing, education or rank, he is thrown in with thousands of other soldiers, whom the daily routine soon reduces to a homogeneous body of troops. They work, drill, eat and sleep together, under the same conditions and subject to prescribed discipline. Inevitably the individuality is soon lost in the character of the whole. The uniform is an outward symbol of the uniformity of character which results from the process.

The Army is the special instrument of the Kaiser. He is its Commander-in-Chief. He is within his right in calling it "my Army," for in a real sense it belongs to him. The recruits on joining the colors bind themselves by a solemn oath to personal service of "His Highness," the Kaiser, "in each and every instance, by day and night, in war and in peace, on water and on land and wherever it be."

The army is the invincible bulwark of the autocratic Government, as it stands in the way of every move-

⁶ Cf. Villard's "Germany Embattled," p. 45.

⁷ Hazen's "The Government of Germany," War Information Series, No. 3.

⁸ Quoted in Collier's "Germany and the Germans," p. 542.

⁹ Seeley's "Life and Times of Stein," II, ch. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 128.

ment towards popular reform. The rulers use it to overawe the masses. Though its rank and file is made up of the common people, yet the Army is the very instrument to prevent the people from gaining a full share of their rights. The military system holds the nation so tightly in its grasp, that it can suppress every movement towards improvement. It thrives on the very people who stagger under the overwhelming burden of this incubus.

Military rule is entrenched in the Junkertum, the ancient aristocracy of Germany. The Junkertum is the old-time stock of nobility, settled on their domains in northern and eastern Prussia. They cling tenaciously to their old feudalistic privileges, and would, if possible, stifle every popular movement, so as to retain every prerogative in their own hands. With them stands the capitalistic class of wealthy magnates, whose wealth gives them power. These two small classes of Germany manage to keep the control of the nation in their hands. Their power is still unshaken, entrenched in the medieval caste system, and supported by the Army. They furnish the majority of the officers in the Army and in the higher positions of the Government. Thus they have been able to thwart all attempts to modernize the Government. Germany has never passed through a popular revolution, peaceful or violent, like those that have transformed England and France in the last century. Her people have struggled to cast off the autocratic rule, but in the end have weakly yielded to arbitrary power. So it was in 1815 and again in 1848; they saw the attainment of popular government snatched from them, when it seemed already within their grasp.

At the opposite extreme of the Junkers are the Social-Democrats. They are recruited from the working-men, and are very strong in the large industrial centers. They favor popular forms of government. One of their chief principles is opposition to militarism. But in Prussia's antiquated system of voting and representation, the Social-Democrats, although outnumbering all other parties, are cheated out of the preponderance of power in the Government. The Socialists have been unable to check the rising tide of militarism, which has swept onward with ever-increasing force since the Kaiser undertook his Weltpolitik in 1895. In the year before the war two new army corps were added to the military forces, more than 130,000 men, so that the Army in time of peace counted nearly 700,000 soldiers.

Another stronghold of autocracy is the great army of civil servants of the State. The German citizen is hemmed in at every turn by State and police regulations, which are administered by this inflexible bureaucracy. Beginning with the high officials, the civil service embraces innumerable officers, including operators of the railroads, postal and telegraph systems, teachers and priests, policemen, foresters, government clerks, and a host of others. This host comprises 3,000,000 men, all of whom look to the Government for their opinions, as their livelihood depends

upon their loyalty to the State. A government official is supposed not to show any political opinion. But if by ill-luck he manifests any Socialistic tendencies, his doom is sealed.¹¹

The German Government, however, does not limit its powers to the positive forces moulding public sentiment, but it keeps a strong grasp on all the agencies of popular expression. It strengthens those favorable to itself and suppresses opinions antagonistic to its policy. It exerts itself to build up sentiment in its favor, by means of the schools and the army, and it exercises its power to destroy all the influences unfavorable to its will. In other words, it restricts freedom of speech, except as it is in harmony with the Government. Contrary views are checked as far as possible by restrictive laws. The newspapers are affected especially by this legislation. The Government exercises a close oversight of the press, recognizing it as one of the most powerful agencies for forming public sentiment.

German journalism in its modern aspects had its rise about 1835 in a group of writers, led by Heinrich Heine and Ludwig Boerne, who were inspired with liberal views. They sought to arouse the people to a desire for liberal government. But their works were proscribed by the stupid government, influenced by Metternich, and the unfortunate journalists fled to Paris. They continued their attacks from the foreign capital, veiling them so as to avoid the censor, but striking the point no less sharply.

The censorship of the press was abolished by the Constitution of Prussia and by that of the Empire. But the same object as was accomplished by the censor was hereafter left to police regulation. In May, 1874, the Reichstag passed laws on this subject, which hold the newspapers to strict account for all editorial comment. The laws require that each newspaper must bear the name and address of the publisher and editor. Furthermore a copy of every number must be submitted to the police before it is given out for circulation. In case it contains any expression objectionable to the Government, the police are authorized to suppress that issue alone, or succeeding issues. Such authority imputes to the police a moral discrimination which is a very dangerous weapon to place in their hands. So long as such laws exist, there is no real freedom of the press.¹²

Price Collier gives the number of dailies in Germany as four thousand, and three thousand weekly and monthly periodicals.¹³ Prosecution for offences against the press laws are almost of daily occurrence.

¹¹ Cf. Dawson's "What is Wrong with Germany," p. 62.

¹² "The assertion has been made by publicists, that if the European countries had had newspapers like those found in America, there would never have been the Great War of the World. Be that as it may, there can be no question that the permanence of the American Republic is linked by inseparable bonds to the independence of the press." James Melvin Lee's "History of American Journalism," quoted in *Literary Digest*, February 9, 1918.

¹³ Collier's "Germany and the Germans."

No editor is immune from this operation, if he has the least spirit of independence. Maximilian Harden, editor of *Die Zukunft*, and probably the brightest publicist of Germany, suffered such an indignity, in spite of his friendliness to the Government. His offence was simply a mild protest against the Emperor's notorious speech to the troops departing for China in 1900, in which he exhorted them to emulate the example of the Huns. For this offence Harden was convicted of "lèse-majesté," and sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Some newspapers belong to a privileged class, being chosen as semi-official organs of the Government. On the other hand, the Socialist paper, *Vorwaerts*, is hostile to the Government.

The re-establishment of the censorship since the war was a foregone conclusion. Maximilian Harden devoted one number of *Die Zukunft* to warning the Government against too strict censorship. In the course of his leading article he touched upon the subject of the suppression of the people's sentiment, saying: "Naught will hurt us in foreign countries, except the constant attempt to look like sheep obediently trotting behind the shepherd. Right and left the foe is listening; but nowhere can he detect the voice of the German people. Could he but hear it, we should be near to peace, which is possible to-day, which only a miracle could make better."¹⁴

The Government is just as watchful over public meetings and assemblies as over the newspapers. Such meetings must be announced beforehand, not to inform the public, but that the police may decide whether to allow the meeting to proceed. Two policemen sit on the platform or behind the scenes, taking note of every speech and action, to break up the assembly if any seditious utterance occurs, and to make an official report of the proceedings. In extreme cases the military is called in to enforce order. Harsh measures are not unknown, to beat down all action hostile to the Government's program. Herr von Jagow, Chief of Police in Berlin, gave this laconic warning in February, 1910, against street meetings:

"There is talk of the right to street demonstrations. But the streets are for traffic only. If public authority is disregarded, the police have orders to use their weapons. I give inquisitive people fair warning."¹⁵

Another institution coming under the watchful care of the State is the theater. Realizing the possibilities of the drama in training public opinion, by means of graphic representations of stirring scenes, the State has long exercised a controlling interest in the theaters. In the large cities there is at least one subsidized theater, which becomes in that way a public institution. The players form a permanent staff and are semi-official servants of the State. There are twenty Court-Theaters and nearly a hundred main-

tained by individual cities.¹⁶ As an example of the efficiency of the censor, Gerhardt Hauptmann's "The Weavers," one of the most powerful dramas in recent times, but of a socialistic tendency, was held up many years from the stage by the police censors.

These are the methods by which the German Government has directed and moulded public opinion. The State has unremittingly cultivated national ideals, until an intense, even fanatical spirit of nationalism pervades the people. Submissively the nation accepts autocracy, militarism and war, with its sacrifices, as the unavoidable condition of national existence. So thoroughly has the sentiment of obedience to government been inculcated, that there has been no serious question of the Government's policy in these years of war. But the supreme test will come, when the military power wavers and is driven back. Will the nationalism artificially cultivated by autocracy stand against the freely developed ideals of democracy? Is a people whose steps are guided at every turn by higher authority superior to nations who have formed themselves by experience and struggle?

One of Germany's most famous scholars, Theodore Mommsen, gave answer to this question more than a half century ago in his renowned work, "The History of Rome." Reviewing the career of the greatest Roman, Julius Cæsar, the historian was led to consider the worth, in general, of such a system of arbitrary government as he established and which is known ever since as Cæsarism.

"It is true," he writes, "that the history of past centuries ought to be the instructress of the present; but not in the vulgar sense, as if one could by simply turning over the leaves discover the conjunctures of the present in the records of the past . . . it is instructive only so far as the observation of earlier forms of culture reveals the organic conditions of civilization generally—the fundamental forces everywhere alike, and the manner of their combination everywhere different—and leads and encourages men not to unreflecting imitation, but to independent reproduction. In this sense the history of Cæsar and of Roman Imperialism, with all the unsurpassed greatness of the master-worker, with all the historical necessity of the work, is in truth a more bitter censure of modern autoeracy than could be written by the hand of man. According to the same law of nature in virtue of which the smallest organism infinitely surpasses the most artistic machine, every constitution, however defective, which gives play to the free self-determination of a majority of citizens infinitely surpasses the most brilliant and humane absolutism; for the former is capable of development, and therefore living, the latter is what it is and therefore dead."¹⁷

In these graphic words, written in 1857, before Bismarck forced his arbitrary rule upon Prussia, the weakness of Kaiserism was exposed.

¹⁴ Cf. New York Times, European War, VIII, 1106-7.

¹⁵ The Britannia Year Book, 1913, p. 1018.

¹⁶ F. C. Howe's "European Cities at Work."

¹⁷ Mommsen's "History of Rome," IV, ch. XI.

The Historical Outlook

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CHANGE IN PRICE.

As mentioned in the notice on page 412 of the issue for October, which was inserted at the last moment before going to press, the publishers of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK have been compelled by a regulation of the War Industries Board to withdraw the special rate previously granted to members of the American Historical Association and of other teachers' associations. Effective November 1, 1918, the rate to all subscribers will be two dollars a year (nine numbers).

EXPIRATION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

By another regulation of the War Industries Board, publishers of newspapers and periodicals are forbidden to continue sending copies to subscribers who are in arrears on their payments. In order to keep their files intact and avoid unnecessary entries, subscribers are requested to remit promptly upon presentation of bills for their subscriptions.

THE WAR ISSUES COURSE.

It is too early to describe the workings of the collegiate training given in the Student Army Training Corps, or to estimate the value which the course has both for the army and the colleges, or to hint at the future influence it will have upon undergraduate life and instruction. The whole plan is so novel, indeed revolutionary in many respects, that it is impossible to pass judgment upon it at the present time.

One feature of the prescribed curriculum for the S. A. T. C., however, is of great interest to every history teacher—the course on the "Issues of the War"—which must be taken by nearly all members of the Corps. The War Department's instructions prescribe that this course shall include at least three hours of class-work and six hours of outside preparation every week for three terms. This is a greater amount of time than is required for any other subject in the curriculum except the eleven hours of military training.

The purpose of the course on the Issues of the War is "to enhance the morale of the members of the Corps by giving them an understanding of what the war is about and of the supreme importance to civilization of the cause for which we are fighting."

Both the purpose of the course in War Issues and the methods of inspection and control furnish a landmark in the military and educational history of the United States. Never before has the national government sought to raise the esprit de corps of its soldier and officer material by a frank and intelligent presentation of the issues involved in a military contest. While from Revolutionary times down to the Spanish-American War it has been recognized that the citizen soldier fighting for freedom, and firmly believing in his cause, makes a better soldier—a thinking bayonet—than the ignorant conscript or mercenary—yet never before has our government entered upon a definite plan of instruction by which the national ideals might be clearly apprehended by the body of soldiers. So, too, there has never been—even under the growing power of the Federal Vocational Education Board—such a system of national inspection and control of educational activities as that provided for the Student Army Training Corps, and the War Issues course as a part of its curriculum.

The foresight of the War Department in providing for the War Issues course, and the breadth of vision and liberality of the Director, Mr. Frank Aydelotte, are deserving of high praise. College professors have responded loyally to the call for service in the War Issues course. There have been great difficulties to be met and overcome; yet from all parts of the country come reports of the satisfactory work already accomplished.

It is the desire of the editors of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK to aid in the comparison of methods and results. To this end the columns of the paper are open to any one connected with the War Issues course who desires to obtain advice, or to give suggestions arising from his own experience. It is hoped that such a comparison of efforts and results may lead to greater success in the course.

Beginnings in Political Education

BY PROFESSOR EDGAR DAWSON, HUNTER COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY.

"Like most subjects outside of the three R's in the elementary school curriculum, and the classics and mathematics in the secondary school course of study, the subject matter of civics was not taught in the schools until some years after the middle of the nineteenth century."

This quotation from the useful article on Civics in Monroe's "Cyclopedia of Education" expresses what seems to be the general impression about the beginnings of the teaching of government in American schools. The article leaves the impression that this subject began to be taught in the seventies¹ or thereabouts. Without making an effort to define "the subject matter of civics," to set the limits of which is about as difficult as to define socialism, one may dare to doubt the accuracy of this impression and to express the feeling that its continuance does more harm than good to the history of American education. It seems to have originated from a review of some of the printed courses of study used in the academies, and from the fact that the teaching of government seems to have been pretty dead during the decade immediately following the middle of the century.

The purpose of this paper is twofold. It would show that government was taught to some extent in the Jacksonian period of our history; and it would express a tentative generalization which seems to grow out of the fact that the teaching of government declined or disappeared in the Civil War period, only to revive again in the period following Reconstruction.

The terms, Jacksonian period, Civil War period, and recent times, are doubtless clear enough to all the readers of this magazine. For the sake of convenience, two decades, 1828-1848, may be assigned to the first; and a quarter century, 1848-1873, to the second. Let us consider these three periods in the light of the following tentative general statement: Efforts to teach government reflect the state of public interest in the safety of republican institutions. When there is an active interest in saving these institutions from attack, there is likely to be a demand that children be instructed in the principles of government; when by reason of public confidence or because of disturbance that distracts the public mind there is but little concern about public efficiency and responsibility, then the teaching of government in schools is neglected.

During the Jacksonian period the educated classes and the guardians of conservatism were almost in despair. They thought that a group of demagogues had seized the machinery of government, and were rushing violently down into a sea of universal ruin. The ad-

vent of Jackson and his friends had been preceded by the so-called era of good feeling and of personal politics, when the country was busy with its industrial welfare, and when there was but little concern about the safety of our institutions. But the moving of the Albany regency to Washington was the signal for the making of stern resolutions that the republic must be saved from those who would undermine its life and dissolve its organs. A part of the campaign of the educated classes to save the republic seems to have been a demand that the principles of sound politics be implanted in the mind of the growing child.

In 1830 appeared William Sullivan's "Political Class Book Intended to Instruct Higher Classes in Schools in the Origin, Nature and Use of Political Power." In his preface the author says: "It is not perceived that provision has been made in the usual course of education to qualify those who are approaching manhood to discharge with advantage to themselves and with justice to their fellow-citizens, the duties which they must assume." The book deals with the origin of society, the government of the several states, particularly of Massachusetts, and of the United States, as well as with the rights of property and other topics. A second edition appeared the next year; and the book became well enough known during the next few years to be cited in 1836 by another writer of texts in the preface to his volume. With the exception of Winchester's "Political Catechism" of 1796, to which reference will be made below, Sullivan's is the earliest effort in this direction that has come to the attention of the present writer.

In 1836 A. W. Young published his "Introduction to the Science of Government and Compend of Constitutional and Civil Jurisprudence, Comprehending a General View of the Government of the United States and of the Government of the State of New York, together with the Most Important Provisions of the Constitutions of the Several States; Adapted to Purposes of Instruction in Families and Schools." The work of this author appeared either under this title or that of "The Political Class Book" in many editions by various editors. The most recent edition seems to have been that of 1901, but the book seems still to be taught in schools.

In his preface of 1836 the author says: "Under our constitution, sovereignty resides with the people; in other words, we have the power of governing ourselves. Consequently, it is of the first importance that the depositories of political power should know how to apply this power intelligently and judiciously." Continuing, he discusses the need of teaching sound political principles in a republic, and laments that "in the education of youth for the business life, it seems almost to be forgotten that they are

¹ "After 1870 the subject began to find its way gradually into the elementary schools," says the Cyclopedia article.

even to assume the duties of citizens." He refers to Sullivan's book and to several others, but adds: "It is believed that of those which are intended as class books, none are well adapted to the condition of our common schools." He takes up the principles of government, the nature of society, liberty, rights, law, the historical background of American government, the Federal constitution; and treats briefly of the units of local government. A book that could hold its own for three-quarters of a century even with revision and re-editing, was surely no lame or superficial effort.

The first edition of E. D. Mansfield's "Political Grammar of the United States" seems to have appeared also in 1836. A copy of this edition has not been found, but the edition of 1849 refers to its fore-runner of 1836. The author, in the later edition, which is advertised as the sixteenth, speaks with pride of the fact that his book had maintained itself against the competition of ten or a dozen other works. Therefore before the end of the Jacksonian period a lively competition existed among authors of text-books in government, and the text-books were meeting with sufficient demand to justify their publishers in reissuing them a number of times.

In 1842 appeared Charles Mason's "Elementary Treatise on the Structure and Operation of the National and State Governments of the United States, designed for the Use of Schools and Academies and for the General Reader." The author in his preface defends himself from anticipated criticism because he has not placed questions and other pedagogical helps at the end of his chapters; and contends that such questions dispose children to learn detailed facts for purposes of examination to the neglect of the general and more important purpose of the book. He discusses different kinds of governments, the nature of popular institutions, the historical background of our constitution, and other topics. In his preface he lays stress on the need of learning "actually" how government is run—i.e., the "real facts." In a word, he seems to have been modern in his aspirations.

J. B. Shurtleff's "Government Instructor or Brief and Comprehensive View of the United States and of the States in Easy Lessons, designed for Schools and Families," appeared in 1845 and continued to be republished at least as late as 1860. The book is mainly a commentary on the Federal constitution, but is a more useful book than some of the more recent commentaries, or editions of that document for school use.

At the end of the Jacksonian period, 1848, appeared J. B. Burleigh's "American Manual," with its motto "Regnant Populi" and the following modest title page: "*Containing a brief outline of the origin and progress of political power and the laws of nations; a commentary on the constitution of the United States of America, and a lucid exposition of the duties and responsibilities of voters, jurors, and civil magistrates; with questions, definitions, and marginal exercises designed to develop and strengthen the moral and intellectual powers of youth, and impart an*

accurate knowledge of the nature and necessity of political wisdom, adapted to the use of schools, academies, and the public." The tone of this interesting announcement may be explained in part by the fact that the author was for many years a college president. His book is equipped with pedagogical hints and aids. The advertising notices contain recommendations from the schools of Maryland, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. It therefore seems to have met with some success despite the title page and its other handicaps.

Can there be any doubt that there was a real effort to teach the principles of government in the schools in this period? Could these and other similar books have found publishers in those days if the books had not sold? Would thousands of copies have been sold if there had been no classes in the subject?

Now let us turn to the period of the Civil War. To show that an effort was made to train children in the principles of government in the Jacksonian period was a comparatively simple matter, for only positive proof was needed. But to prove a negation is difficult. To show that government was not taught in the Civil War period is almost impossible. In the first place, the books of the earlier period were doubtless still in use. In the second place, good books may have appeared and have escaped the notice of collectors. We shall attempt to show nothing more than that less attention seems to have been given the subject in this period than in the earlier one.

A careful search has failed to reveal a single book written for school work in government between 1848 and 1873. A few titles have been found, but the books do not seem to have been preserved, and the titles do not indicate the purpose of the books or the character of their contents. If a number of books from the earlier period are available in the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress, and none from the later period, the probability is established that the earlier period was the more productive one. The output of the earlier period would have of course been more likely to disappear than that of the later. Moreover, the pioneers of the revival in teaching this subject would doubtless have been sufficiently acquainted with good recent books on the subject to have referred to them in the seventies when the revival began.

It is scarcely reasonable to expect that books on this subject would have been written in such a period of stress.² In the later years of the slavery struggle efficient government was not in question. The intellectuals were concerned about the preservation of the Union; the radicals about the abolition of slavery. Even the abolitionists would not have associated with the name of Calhoun or Hayne the collapse of republican institutions. When the Confederacy was formed, a constitution was adopted scarcely less satisfactory to students of government than that of the

² One need only reflect on the present tendency to forget subjects not of immediate value to the cause of winning the war.

United States. The public mind was occupied with the approach of a great struggle, with the saving of the Union, and later with the reconstruction of peace and justice after the war; not with safeguarding the fundamental principles of republican government. The main purport of our generalization does not seem to be contradicted by what is known of the Civil War period.

But as the wounds of the war began to heal, and its bitterness to be forgotten, men were able to take stock of other matters. The Tweed Ring in New York attracted attention. The scandals of the Grant administration and other unsavory political phenomena began to call loudly for reform. As the Civil War period merged into the recent period, attention came to be more and more concentrated on the fact that our political machinery was not working well. Corruption was rampant everywhere. Republicans were deserting the party that had waxed too fat on power without opposition. With the growth of this spirit of reform, leaders of education demanded that the principles of sound government must be taught in the schools.

One of the earliest text-book writers who responded to this impetus was Calvin Townsend, an attorney-at-law, who in 1869 published his "Analysis of Civil Government," which he calls the "first attempt ever made to present the subject of civil government in a really didactic form." His remark reminds one of the statement that the Dark Ages are so called because we are in the dark as to what occurred in them. But while Mr. Townsend was apparently very much in the dark about the evolution of the teaching of government, he seems to have been a prolific writer of books. He believed that his work of 1869 met the needs of institutions of higher learning, having been "used as a text-book on the subject by many of our most prominent colleges and universities," but that it did not altogether answer the purposes of the schools. Consequently in 1875 he published his "Shorter Course in Civil Government, arranged in Topics, with numerous Questions for Convenience in Teaching." The following quotation from his preface is indicative of his point of view: "To learn the duties of town, city, and county officers, has nothing whatever to do with the grand and noble subject of Civil Government. It may be doubted whether one who proposes such minutiae of detail, has any definite idea of the term *Civil Government*." Mr. Fiske, in the preface to his epoch-making text-book, on the same subject, makes merry over this quotation without giving its author's name, and seems to say all that it is necessary to say on the earlier author's views.

It is impossible even to mention the flood of so-called texts that soon appeared. In the preface to her book which was published in 1885, "How We Are Governed," Miss Anna Dawes says: "At the risk of undue length, I feel called upon to answer the question why still another book should be written upon so well-worn a subject."

Not long after the appearance of her book came the works of Fiske, Hinsdale and Macy, all three of which are still in very general use. It might be reasonable to say that the teaching of government in American schools with suitable text-books began when these books came into use. If we are to place the beginning earlier, with what kind of teaching shall we make a beginning? If we are to include Townsend's book, then there is not much excuse for rejecting Young's and others of the Jacksonian period.

One interesting relic remains to be mentioned. It may be said that government was not taught in the American schools before 1830, but if such a statement is made, reference should also be made to Elhanan Winchester's "Plain Political Catechism, Intended for the use of Schools in the United States of America, wherein the great principles of Liberty and of the Federal Constitution are laid down and Explained by way of Question and Answer, made level to the lowest Capacities." This little book appeared in the midst of the struggle between rising Jeffersonianism and Federalism making its last successful stand. It was evidently written in an effort to stem the tide of what the New England author thought was a dangerous current of atheism and disorganization. Such questions as, What is man in a state of nature without society? What makes government necessary? Will the early knowledge of the politics of our country tend to introduce disorder, discontent, division, animosity, and rebellion amongst the young people, as some persons pretend? indicate the trend of the little book of about a hundred pages. Of course no general inference can be drawn from it, but in so far as it is worthy of attention it is no exception to our tentative generalization that the teaching of government reflects public interest in the need of conserving republican institutions through early political training.

This paper is a by-product of preparation for a course in some general aspects of the teaching of government in American schools. It may have in it a hint that is worth developing. Would that some aspiring candidate for the doctor's degree would write a dissertation on the history of the teaching of government in America, and show whether or not its evolution offers a hope that we shall at some time see efficient training of the young for their political duties in a democratic commonwealth.³

"The Greatest Reform Act," by the Right Hon. Sir Willoughby H. Dickinson, M.P. (*Contemporary Review* for March), gives the history and terms of the Representation of the People Act, passed in England, February, 1918.

Secretary Daniels, in his short article on "Our Navy in War" (*April Review of Reviews*), discusses the expansion and spirit of the navy, and tells what has been accomplished by this branch of service during the past year.

³ This paper was prepared before the author saw Prof. C. H. Judd's article, "The Teaching of Civics," which appeared in *The School Review* for September, 1918.

Progressive Requirements in American History for Junior and Senior High Schools¹

BY PROFESSOR R. M. TRYON, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The material in this report centers around progressive requirements relative to the following general topics:

- I. General Organization of the Field of American History for Teaching Purposes.
- II. Maps to Make.
- III. Dates—Events to Know and Remember.
- IV. Personages to Know and Identify.
- V. Topics with which Students Should Be Familiar on Completing the Course.
- VI. General Method of Procedure.

The progressive requirements as they relate to each of the foregoing topics follow in two columns, the first including junior high school requirements and the second senior high school requirements. By such a scheme one can readily see what is demanded of each student on completing the course in American history in the senior high school.

I. GENERAL ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY FOR TEACHING PURPOSES IN THE JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS.

Junior High School.

Name and Date Boundary of the Large Divisions	Percentage of Total Time Given
1. Perspective and introductory view—factors affecting early American history	10
2. The period of discovery and exploration, 1492-1607	8

¹ The report of a committee to the Department of History and Other Social Studies of Academies and High Schools in Relation with the University of Chicago, May 10, 1918. The committee was composed of R. M. Tryon, University of Chicago, chairman; Chauncey C. Willard, Lane Technical High School, Chicago, Ill.; Elizabeth Barns, Joliet Township High School, Joliet, Ill.; Chester C. Dodge, Principal, William G. Hibberd Junior High School, Chicago, Ill.; and Mabel Blazier, Nicholas Senn High School, Chicago, Ill. Suggestions relative to additions, omissions, and the general plan of the proposals are solicited by the committee. Address all communications to the chairman.

It should be said by way of explanation that this report represents five years' work and experience in connection with the chairman's classes in the "Teaching of High-School History" in the University of Chicago and four months' work on the part of the committee as a whole on the actual sifting of the material and the making of final selections. Much use was made of all the recent investigations along the line of dates and events, important personages, and generalization of organization of the field. The report makes no attempt to point out the exact contributions of each of these investigations.

Reprinted from *The School Review*, Vol. XXVI, No. 7, September, 1918.

3. Colonization and the struggle for supremacy in North America, 1607-1763	22
4. Revolution and the establishment of the American nation, 1763-1789	10
5. Nationalism and democracy, 1789-1829	12
6. Expansion and conflict, 1829-1865	16
7. Reconstruction and consolidation, 1865-1898.	17
8. National expansion and the new democracy, 1898 to present time	5

100

Senior High School.

Name and Date Boundary of the Large Divisions	Percentage of Total Time Given
1. Perspective and introductory view—factors affecting early American history	5
2. The period of discovery and exploration, 1492-1607	4
3. Colonization and the struggle for supremacy in North America, 1607-1763	12
4. Revolution and the establishment of the American nation, 1763-1789	12
5. Nationalism and democracy, 1789-1829	17
6. Expansion and conflict, 1829-1865	20
7. Reconstruction and consolidation, 1865-1898	20
8. National expansion and the new democracy, 1898 to present time	10

100

II. MAPS TO MAKE.

Junior High School.

No. 1.

1. Title: North America North of Mexico. Physical Features and Indians.
2. Use an outline map of North America.
3. Name the chief rivers, mountains, lakes, bays, gulfs, plains, and valleys.
4. General location of the following Indian families and tribes: Iroquois, Sioux, Creek, Cherokee, Seminole, Pequot, and Delaware.

No. 2.

1. Title: Discovery and Exploration.
2. Use an outline map of the world—double size.
3. Show routes of Columbus, De Soto, Coronado, Cortez, Pizarro, Magellan, Diaz, Da Gama, Cabral, Drake, the Cabots, Gosnold, Hudson.
4. Name all places needed to show the foregoing.

No. 3.

1. Title: Conflicting Claims of Territory in 1650.
2. Use an outline map of the Western Hemisphere.
3. Show territory claimed by Spain, England, France, Holland, Sweden, and Portugal.

No. 4.

1. Title: Progress of Settlement to 1750.
2. Use an outline map of the United States and Canada east of the Mississippi River.
3. Show the French in the Mississippi Valley and Canada, the Spanish in the South, and the English in the East.
4. Repeat the chief physical features and add many others. Locate all the main English towns, French forts, and Indian portages.
5. If possible, show progress of English settlements, say those made before 1700 and those made from 1700 to 1750. Show the wagon road from Philadelphia to the West and the Southwest and the one from Charlestown to the back country.

No. 5.

1. Title: North America North of Mexico in 1763.
2. Use an outline map of North America.
3. Show results of French and Indian War. Show the Proclamation Line of 1763 proposed by England as a boundary between Indians and settlers.
4. Show general outline of the thirteen colonies. Indicate what was lost by the Proclamation Line of 1763.

No. 6.

1. Title: The United States in 1790.
2. Use an outline map of North America east of the Mississippi River.
3. Show Northwest Territory, Southwest Territory, all the states, and the population of each.
4. Locate all the principal cities of the East and settlements of the West, and the routes to the West through the mountains; Saluda and Cumberland Gaps, James-Kanawha, Potomac-Monongahela, and the Forbes Road.

No. 7.

1. Title: Progressive Territorial Map of the United States to 1853.
2. Use an outline map of the United States.
3. Show the United States in 1783, 1803, 1819, 1845, 1846, and 1853.

No. 8.

1. Title: Admission of States and the Status of Slavery to 1860.
2. Use an outline map of the United States.
3. Show original thirteen states; admission of each state; and status of slavery in 1789, 1821, 1850, 1854, 1857, and 1861.

No. 9.

1. Title: The United States and Her Possessions Today.
2. Use double-size map of the world.
3. Show the United States and her possessions. Good scheme to make each in form of a flag.

Senior High School.

No. 1.

1. Title: Trade Routes of the Fifteenth Century.
2. Use an outline map of the world—double size.
3. Trade routes from the Mediterranean to the East; trade routes in Europe; trade routes in the Atlantic.
4. Locate important commercial cities and industrial centers.

No. 2.

1. Title: The Colonies, 1763.
2. Use an outline map of North America east of the Mississippi River.
3. Show progress of English, French, and Spanish settlements; routes from coast to Mississippi basin; Indian portages; conflicting claims of English colonies; Proclamation Line of 1763.

No. 3.

1. Title: Colonial Trade and Industry in the Eighteenth Century.
2. Use outline map of the world.
3. Show importance of West Indies; triangles and quadrilaterals of trade; fisheries.
4. Note on the map the commodities comprised in this trade; e.g., Barbados, sugar; South Carolina, indigo, etc.

No. 4.

1. Title: Progressive Westward Movement.
2. Use an outline map of the United States.
3. Show frontier line of 1763, 1790, 1820, 1840, 1860, 1880; principal routes, as Wilderness Road, Cumberland Road, Erie Canal, Oregon Trail, Santa Fe Trail, etc.; exploration of West and centers of population.

No. 5.

1. Title: Election Maps.
2. Use outline maps of the United States.
3. Show elections of 1800, 1828, 1844, 1856, 1860, 1876, 1884, 1896, 1912.

No. 6.

1. Title: Divisions in the United States on Important Issues.
2. Use outline map of the United States.
3. Show divisions of country as shown by Congressional vote on declaration of war, 1812; Missouri Compromise; tariff of 1816; tariff of 1832; Kansas-Nebraska bill (conflicting sectional interests in the West); secession; solid South, 1880-1916.
4. These maps should be prepared by the teacher.

No. 7.

1. Title: Transportation in the United States.
2. Use outline map of the United States.
3. Show roads and waterways, 1825; canals, 1840; chief railroads, 1850, 1860, 1880, 1918.

Graphs and Charts.

1. Use co-ordinate paper.
2. Show growth of population by decades; American born of American parents; American born of foreign parents; foreign born.
3. Show increase of money, of banking resources, of gold and silver, and of wealth of nation.
4. Show development of agriculture, of manufacturing, of mining, of imports and exports, and of transportation.

III. DATES AND EVENTS.

Junior High School.

1000. Discovery of America by the Northmen.
 1453. Capture of Constantinople by the Turks.
 1492. First Voyage of Columbus.
 1497. John Cabot discovers North America.
 1522. End of Magellan's voyage around the World.
 1565. Founding of St. Augustine.
 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
 1607. Settlement of Jamestown.
 1608. Quebec settled by the French.
 1614. New Netherland settled by the Dutch.
 1619. Slavery introduced into Virginia.
 1620. Settlement of Plymouth.
 1630. Settlement of Boston.
 1682. Founding of Pennsylvania.
 1763. Peace of Paris.
 1765. Stamp Act controversy.
 1775. Lexington and Concord.
 1776. July 4, Declaration of Independence.
 1783. End of the Revolutionary War.
 1787. Northwest Ordinance.
 1789. Washington inaugurated president.
 1790. Taking of the first census.
 1793. Invention of the cotton gin.
 1803. Purchase of Louisiana.
 1807. Fulton's steamboat.
 1812. War with England.
 1819. Purchase of Florida.
 1820. Missouri Compromise.
 1823. Monroe Doctrine.
 1830. The beginning of the era of railroad building in the United States.
 1831. Cyrus McCormick's reaper.
 1844. Morse's telegraph.
 1845. Annexation of Texas.
 1846. Howe's sewing machine and accession of Oregon Territory.
 1848. The end of the Mexican War and discovery of gold in California.
 1850. The Great Compromise.
 1853. The Gadsden Purchase.
 1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
 1857. Dred Scott decision.
 1860. Election of Lincoln and secession of South Carolina.
 1863. January 1, Emancipation Proclamation.
 1865. Lee's surrender, April 9.
 1866. First permanently successful Atlantic cable.

1867. Purchase of Alaska.
 1871. Settlement of the Alabama claims.
 1876. Invention of telephone and Centennial at Philadelphia.
 1878. Invention of arc light for streets and parks.
 1898. Spanish-American War.
 1914. August, beginning of the Great War.
 1915. Opening of the Panama Canal.
 1917. April 6, United States enters the Great War and purchase of the Virgin Islands.

Senior High School.

1487. Diaz reaches southern point of Africa.
 1498. Vasco de Gama reaches India.
 1584. Cartier discovers the St. Lawrence River.
 1643. New England Confederation.
 1647. Beginning of the public school system.
 1688. The glorious Revolution.
 1754. Albany Congress.
 1778. French Treaty of Alliance.
 1781. Ratification of the Articles of Confederation.
 1787. The Constitutional Convention.
 1790. Birth year of the factory system and first tariff law.
 1791. The first United States bank.
 1798. Alien and sedition laws and Virginia and Kentucky resolutions.
 1800. Washington becomes capital of the United States.
 1803. Case of Marbury vs. Madison.
 1807. Jefferson's embargo policy.
 1814. Power loom introduced into the United States, and the Hartford Convention.
 1816. Second United States bank and first protective tariff.
 1819. McCullough vs. Maryland.
 1832. Nullification controversy.
 1846. Wilmot proviso.
 1862. Homestead and Morrill acts.
 1863. The National Banking Act.
 1865. The Thirteenth Amendment.
 1868. The Fourteenth Amendment.
 1869. First Pacific railroad and woman's suffrage in Wyoming.
 1879. Resumption of specie payment.
 1881. Organization of the American Federation of Labor.
 1885. Inauguration of Cleveland.
 1887. Interstate Commerce Act.
 1890. Sherman Anti-Trust Law.
 1894. Pullman strike (injunction).
 1895. Venezuelan boundary dispute.
 1896. Collapse of the free-silver movement.
 1901. Hay-Pauncefote treaty.
 1902. Northern Securities case.
 1908. Conservation Convention.
 1913. Federal Reserve Bank Law and Sixteenth and Seventeenth Amendments.
 1914. Revision of the Anti-Trust Law.
 1915. National Child Labor Law.
 1917. Farm Loan Bank Act.

IV. PERSONAGES TO KNOW AND IDENTIFY.

Junior High School.

At the end of the junior high school course the student should be able to write a statement of about 200 words in length about each of the following:

Samuel Adams
 Thomas H. Benton
 Daniel Boone
 John C. Calhoun
 Henry Clay
 Christopher Columbus
 Jefferson Davis
 Dorothea Dix
 Stephen A. Douglas
 Cyrus W. Field
 Benjamin Franklin
 Robert Fulton
 Ulysses S. Grant
 Alexander Hamilton
 Patrick Henry
 Andrew Jackson
 Thomas Jefferson
 General Lafayette
 La Salle
 Robert E. Lee
 Abraham Lincoln
 James Madison
 John Marshall
 William McKinley
 James Monroe
 Samuel F. B. Morse
 William Penn
 William Pitt
 Harriet Beecher Stowe
 George Washington
 Daniel Webster
 Eli Whitney

At the end of the junior high school course students should be able to identify the following:

John Quincy Adams
 Chester A. Arthur
 John Jacob Astor
 Balboa
 James G. Blaine
 General Braddock
 John Brown
 James Buchanan
 General Burgoyne
 John Cabot
 Cartier
 Lewis Cass
 George Rogers Clark
 Grover Cleveland
 DeWitt Clinton
 Cornwallis
 Coronado
 Cortez
 De Soto

George Dewey
 Sir Francis Drake
 John Ericsson
 Millard Fillmore
 Albert Gallatin
 James A. Garfield
 William Lloyd Garrison
 George III
 Horace Greeley
 John Hancock
 Benjamin Harrison
 William H. Harrison
 Rutherford B. Hayes
 Sam Houston
 Henry Hudson
 Andrew Johnson
 Sir William Johnson
 John Paul Jones
 Richard H. Lee
 Lewis and Clark
 James Russell Lowell
 Magellan
 Horace Mann
 Marquette and Joliet
 Mason and Dixon
 Cyrus McCormick
 Montcalm
 James Otis
 Oliver H. Perry
 Franklin Pierce
 James K. Polk
 Sir Walter Raleigh
 William H. Seward
 Philip H. Sheridan
 William T. Sherman
 Daniel Shays
 John Sherman
 Alexander Stephens
 William Byrd
 Roger Williams
 John Smith
 Miles Standish
 Edwin M. Stanton
 Thaddeus Stevens
 Charles Sumner
 Zachary Taylor
 John Tyler
 Martin Van Buren
 Vespucci
 Robert Walker
 Roger Williams
 John Greenleaf Whittier
 James Wolfe
 John Adams
 Salmon P. Chase
 Charles Lee
 Sir William Howe
 Lord Baltimore
 John Winthrop
 Brigham Young
 Verrazano

Anne Hutchinson
 David G. Farragut
 Queen Elizabeth
 Elias Howe
 Robert Morris
 Peter Stuyvesant
 J. Pierpont Morgan
 Mark Hanna
 John Hay
 Pocahontas
 Wendell Phillips
 Zebulon Pike
 Carl Schurz
 Cornelius Vanderbilt
 Winfield Scott
 Powhatan
 Pontiac
 King Philip
 Tecumseh
 Massasoit
 Roger B. Taney
 Samuel J. Tilden
 James J. Hill
 Nathan Hale
 Stephen Girard
 "Citizen" Genet
 Nathaniel Greene
 Horatio Gates
 "Boss" Tweed
 Champlain
 Booker T. Washington
 William Bradford
 Terrence V. Powderly

NOTE.—Individuals now living and active in national affairs have purposely been omitted from the foregoing lists. Personages of local importance have also been omitted.

Senior High School.

At the end of the senior high school course the student should be able to write a statement of about 400 words in length about each of the following (all of these are in the list to identify at the end of the junior high school course):

John Adams
 John Quincy Adams
 John Jacob Astor
 James G. Blaine
 John Brown
 Salmon P. Chase
 Grover Cleveland
 Lewis Cass
 Champlain
 George Rogers Clark
 DeWitt Clinton
 George Dewey
 David G. Farragut
 Albert Gallatin
 William Lloyd Garrison
 Horace Greeley
 John Hancock

William H. Harrison
 Sam Houston
 John Hay
 James J. Hill
 Lewis and Clark
 Cyrus McCormick
 Andrew Johnson
 Magellan
 Winfield H. Scott
 William H. Seward
 Daniel Shays
 Edwin M. Stanton
 Alexander Stephens
 Thaddeus Stevens
 Charles Sumner
 Martin Van Buren
 Robert Walker
 William Byrd
 Roger B. Taney
 Terrence V. Powderly
 John Sherman
 Samuel Slater
 Booker T. Washington
 Brigham Young
 Horace Mann

At the end of the senior high school course students should be able to identify the following (none of these appear on either of the junior high school lists):

Ethan Allen
 Benedict Arnold
 Nathaniel Bacon
 George Bancroft
 Clara Barton
 Henry Ward Beecher
 Sir William Berkeley
 Black Hawk
 Aaron Burr
 William H. Crawford
 George A. Custer
 Stephen Decatur
 Vasco da Gama
 De Leon
 Bartholomew Diaz
 John Dickinson
 Governor Dinwiddie
 John C. Fremont
 General Gage
 Elbridge Gerry
 John Harvard
 Sir John Hawkins
 Robert Hayne
 Thomas Hooker
 Thomas J. Jackson
 Joseph E. Johnson
 Henry Knox
 George B. McClellan
 George H. Meade
 Narvaez
 James Oglethorpe

Osceola
 Charles C. Pinckney
 Edmund Randolph
 Joseph Smith
 George H. Thomas
 Governor William Tryon
 Anthony Wayne
 Conrad Weiser
 David Wilmot
 Emma Willard
 Frances E. Willard
 Richard Olney
 Commodore Matthew C. Perry
 Matthew Quay
 Thomas Platt
 Major John W. Powell
 Josiah Quincy
 James Robertson
 John Sevier
 Mason and Slidell
 Robert Toombs
 Charles Townshend
 Lyman Trumbull
 William H. Vanderbilt
 Clement L. Vallandigham
 James Weaver
 Thurlow Weed
 James Wilkinson
 James Wilson
 William Yancey
 Sir Henry Clinton
 James Eads
 Howell Cobb
 Roscoe Conkling
 Jay Cooke
 Peter Cooper
 John J. Crittenden
 George W. Curtis
 Jonathan Edwards
 Oliver Evans
 Richard Hoe
 Charles Francis Adams
 Manasseh Cutler
 Hamilton Fish
 Charles James Fox
 Charles Goodyear
 Jay Gould
 Major Robert Anderson
 Susan B. Anthony
 Edward H. Harriman
 Robert B. Rhett
 John Randolph
 Thomas B. Reed
 Edmund Burke
 Richard Bland
 Simon Bolivar
 William San Martin
 Nicholas Biddle
 Henry Barnard
 Thomas Hutchinson
 Simon Cameron

Rufus King
 Ibrerville
 George Mason
 William L. Marcy
 Nathaniel Macon
 Thomas Paine
 Gouverneur Morris
 Francis Parkman

V. TOPICS WITH WHICH STUDENTS SHOULD BE FAMILIAR ON COMPLETING THE COURSE.

Junior High School.

1. Steps toward unifying the colonies and establishing the national government in 1789.
2. The commercial and territorial policy of England toward the colonies ending in the Revolution.
3. The development of transportation facilities (emphasize the period prior to 1860).
4. Our territorial expansion.
5. Slavery and the slavery system.
6. Revolutionary inventions and processes.
7. The chief political parties and their doctrines.
8. Important treaties with foreign powers and international relations.
9. Finance, banking and panics.
10. Genesis of all the colonies and special consideration of Virginia, Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania.
11. Our system of revenue.
12. Civil-service reform and the spoils system.
13. The present and past of the suffrage problem.
14. Causes, results, and a few of the most important events of our various wars.
15. Internal improvements (emphasize the period prior to 1860).
16. Chief facts in the history of agriculture.
17. Trusts and industrial combination.
18. Labor and labor unions.
19. The factory system in the United States.
20. The presidents, time, chief events, and party.
21. The work of the chief explorers and discoverers.

Senior High School.

1. Steps toward unifying the colonies and establishing the national government in 1789.
2. The commercial and territorial policy of England toward the colonies ending in the Revolution.
3. The development of transportation facilities (emphasize the period since 1860.)
4. Our territorial expansion.
5. Slavery and the Slavery system.
6. Revolutionary inventions and processes.
7. The chief political parties and their doctrines.
8. Important treaties with foreign powers and international relations.
9. Finance, banking and panics.
10. Population and immigration.
11. Our system of revenue.
12. Civil-Service reform and the spoils system.
13. The present and past of the suffrage problem.

14. Humanitarian reforms and social amelioration.
15. Internal improvements (emphasize period since 1860).
16. Chief facts in the history of agriculture.
17. Trusts and industrial combination.
18. Labor and labor unions.
19. The factory system in the United States.
20. The land question.
21. Our chief liberty documents.

NOTE.—Since many of the topics in the junior high school course are duplicated in the senior high school course, a definite outline of the work to be done on each in each course would be necessary to show progress.

VI. GENERAL METHOD OF PROCEDURE IN THE TEACHING OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Junior High School.

The first thing necessary is to get the main divisions of the field of American history before the class. This can be done inductively with the textbook in the hands of the children. If the textbook has a general organization, this can be examined and discussed and a tentative organization proposed. In the course of a week or so the final organization can be determined upon with definite names and date boundaries for each division.

The second thing necessary is to formulate in story form the main trend of the history contained in each large division determined upon. In most cases it will be better for the teacher to tell this story to the class. The story can be told in sections from day to day, with a retelling by the members of the class as their part of the advance lesson. When each member of the class is able to tell this story from beginning to end, the next step in the general method of procedure may be taken.

If the background of American history has been studied in the sixth or seventh grade, there will be little need of much emphasis on the period of discovery and exploration. In fact, the story already learned could well be elaborate enough to make any more work on this period unnecessary. Since physical features and the Indians cannot be included in the story, some attention will need to be given to these two factors. Considerable time will be spent on the period from 1607 to 1763. A good organization for this period is to deal with the English colonies in three groups down to about 1700, including a cross-section view of life and institutions in each group at this date. The progress of settlement from 1700 to 1754 may be treated as one topic. After this has been concluded, French colonization may be taken from the beginning to 1754, after which a brief consideration of the French and Indian War will be in order. The study of the period will close with an intensive cross-section view of Colonial life and institutions in 1763. A great deal of time can profitably be spent on this cross-section view. Com-

parisons can be made with present-day conditions, and the work of the whole can be made very practical and interesting. The period between 1763 and 1789 will be treated much like the preceding one. The political thread running through the period will be considerably elaborated on as compared with what has been included in the "over-view" already made. The major part of the time spent on this period will be devoted to a study of the social, economic, and political conditions of the country just prior to 1787, culminating in a study of the formation and ratification of the constitution.

Either of two methods of procedure may be followed after the year 1789. On making sure that the pupils understand the main current of the history from this date to, say, 1829, certain phases of life running through the period may be studied in some detail. For example, the social progress and development, including a study of intellectual life, religious activities, social and moral betterment, home life of the people, and conditions of labor, might be emphasized. Industrial and commercial development and the political struggles might also be treated similarly. This same procedure could be applied equally well to the periods from 1829 to 1865, from 1865 to 1898, and from 1898 to the present time.

Such a method of procedure as proposed in the preceding paragraph would not serve equally well for all classes of students. For those who expect to complete the junior high school course such a method might be profitably followed; but for those who may not be able to do this there is probably a better method. For these and for those who are in the industrial and commercial courses a better plan would be first to go over the main features of the foregoing periods and then to trace the history of a few important topics from their origin to their present condition. For example, the history of agriculture, manufacturing, labor systems, and the like could be traced from their simple beginnings in Colonial times to their present-day complexities. Such a method would give the teacher all the freedom necessary to adapt the course to local conditions as well as to the interests and capacities of the children. In working up these topics the counter-chronological method of approach could no doubt be used as effectively as the chronological, and if the pupils have had a course in European history there is no reason why the counter-chronological story should end on this side of the Atlantic.

At the conclusion of the study of each period a more elaborate story of each should be told by the children, and at the end of the course the whole story of the United States should be told just as elaborately as the class is able to do it. The maps made during the course may be used in connection with the telling of this final story, the content of which will be determined by the sort of facts the teacher has emphasized as the course has progressed from day to day.

Senior High School.

The progress of the course in American history in the senior high school beyond that in the junior high school should consist chiefly in the greater amount of analysis given in the former to the structure of American life in the past and at present. (A senior high school student understands a generalization when it is pointed out to him, but he does little generalization himself.) The narrative chronological plan pursued in the junior high school should be used only to get the situations before the class. The greater emphasis should be on an analysis of these situations to show both the structure of society and how this structure worked.

Since it is an understanding of the present that we are aiming at, our course might well begin with a survey of the main features of our present social structure to show it as an organization with different parts, each of which has been built in to perform certain functions in getting our manifold wants satisfied, and all of which interrelate with all the rest like the threads of a web. Such a view is presented in some of the "Community Leaflets" which the government has recently put out, edited by Mr. Judd and Mr. Marshall.

The second thing necessary is to take up some of the past structures of American society to show how the problem of living was worked out formerly in different ways.

The period of discovery and of the planting of colonies would be shown as a phase of European expansion. After the facts of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have been presented, the analysis of these facts would show such things as the interrelationship between the tremendous increase in the volume of trade, the consequent need for capital, the gathering of capital by the device of the joint-stock company, the increased importance of the burgher class, the community of interest between the merchants and the central governments, the growth of nations, etc. After the facts of the planting of the English colonies in the seventeenth century have been presented, the analysis would show the activities of Englishmen during that century as chiefly a struggle for control of the social organization in which commercial expansion, as well as thought movements, like the breakdown of the idea of authority from God, had a large part.

From the past life of people on this continent the spots most worth analyzing would be two—the period from 1763-1789 and the period from 1830-1860.

The study of Colonial life would consider the threefold group of colonies, New England, the Middle, and the South, and the twofold group, the seacoast and the back country. An analysis would show that the chief aims of the Colonial structure were subsistence, protection, and control of individuals. The devices by which these aims were accomplished pre-

sent almost a complete contrast with the devices used to work out the same problems to-day. The period from 1763 to 1789 shows the social structure working badly, chiefly because of an unsatisfactory control and the working out of a new device for control.

Life in the three sections—New England, the South, and the West—between 1830 and 1860 would yield, by analysis, such things in the East as the coming in of the Industrial Revolution in the manufacture of textiles, the increased importance of a market for goods, the interrelationship between this and tariffs, money, and communication, and greater specialization in diverse industries; such things in the South as specialization in one industry only, the self-sufficiency of each plantation worked by slave labor, and the control by the planter aristocracy; such things in the West as the self-sufficiency of frontier life, the struggle for freedom on the frontier, the coming in of popular democracy, the demands for public education, mechanical inventions, better communication, etc.

In the period from 1860 to the present we should be coming back to the thing we started with. This period too would be well worth analyzing because it presents, for a more detailed examination, a very different social structure from any preceding one.

To work out an adequate analysis of it would take much time and thought. But some of the most significant things which it would show would be the interrelationship between the coming in of the Industrial Revolution in the manufacture of other goods besides cloth, and in agriculture, transportation, and mining; the development of the mining-camp frontier in the Rocky Mountains; the shift from rural to urban life; the results to laborers of these changes; the coming in of labor organizations to try to control; "boss" politics; the closing of the frontier; the coming in of such things as extremes of poverty and wealth; consolidation of capital; the idea of "evolution" of society instead of society fixed by "natural laws"; the beginnings of government regulation; commercial and industrial expansion outside our own country; the breakdown of our policy of isolation; and the increased use of the central government as a means of controlling the interests of society.

The situations and facts to be analyzed would be brought out by textbook and reference reading, by maps, charts, etc. The dates, maps, charts, and personages presented in the lists will, of course, fall into their proper places as the work develops. Most of the topics suggested would serve best for a review to build up a cumulative idea of particularly worthwhile movements of our history. The analysis of our social structure would be best brought out by carefully formulated "thought-provoking" questions. At the end of the study of each structure the student should be required, in review, to present a complete picture and analysis of it in comparison with the other structures.

COMMUNICATION.

1125 Feron Road, Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE EDITOR,

THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK,

Philadelphia, Pa.

DEAR SIR:

Will you allow me a little space in THE HISTORY TEACHER'S MAGAZINE to correct a misstatement made in regard to my book, "Patriots in the Making"?

In your issue of April, 1918, there is an article which has recently been called to my attention, by Professor Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, entitled, "Conventionality of History." In this article Professor Benjamin says:

"To what extent this idea of nationalism may go is shown in a recent work, 'Patriots in the Making,' written by an instructor in history in the University of Michigan. This book indicates what has been the influence upon the minds of the present generation in Germany and France by the teaching, particularly of history, in such a way as to laud the mother country and to disparage the country of the enemy. The author shows how far suggestion through text-books and teaching have gone in making the attitude which German or Frenchman has taken in regard to the other, and he then goes on to advocate such teaching for this country. That a student of history should be an advocate of such an idea is passing strange, but it is only indicative of the social pressure which war exerts in making all think alike." (Page 191.)

Far from advocating the teaching of national antagonisms in the schools of this country, I have warned against it. The concluding sentence of my book reads as follows: "As the school of yesterday and to-day has fertilized the soil from which have sprung national suspicions and hatreds, so may the school of to-morrow usher in the era of the brotherhood of man, of universal peace!"

Why should Professor Benjamin pour out the vials of his wrath upon a humble but well-meaning individual who disapproves of "the inculcation of false ideas of patriotism and nationality," as strongly as he does himself? Why not join forces in combating the menace of an over-nationalization of American education such as may result from the present war?

Very truly yours,

JONATHAN F. SCOTT.

THE WAR AND THE SCHOOLS.

"The Awakening of the German People," by Dr. Otfried Nippold, the Swiss writer on international law, is published as No. 125 of *International Conciliation*. The writer reviews the attempts toward democracy in Germany. His conclusion is that "not only the conclusion of peace, but also that which is to come afterward, depends upon a change in the present German state of mind, upon an awakening of the German people from the hypnotic sleep induced by the suggestions of the war party. It is to be hoped that after the war it will be possible for the nations to resume economic and intellectual intercourse with one another, and to take up once more their former relations, that they will cease to hate each other and instead try to understand each other. In other words, peace must be followed by international conciliation. But such a consummation cannot be thought of until the German state of mind has been completely changed. . . . The possibility of a durable peace and of a future reconciliation between the peoples depends upon the awakening of the German people."

The succeeding issue, No. 126, of *International Conciliation*, is entitled, "The Anniversary of America's Entry Into the War." It includes President Wilson's speech of April 6, 1918, and an article from the London *Daily Chronicle* by Prof. Gilbert Murray. The latter says, "Even in diplomacy . . . [America] has helped us by her straightforward faith and her good counsel. She has stated our cause better than any one of the Allies. She has answered the enemy's proposals more calmly and more searchingly. She has shown more balance of mind and more sympathetic insight in her attitude towards Russia."

"Americans are not angels and not supermen. They are extremely like ourselves, only more so; but they are wonderful Allies in the crisis that threatens us, and should remain hereafter, unless some strange folly supervenes, our closest friends and fellow-workers in the restoration of the wounded world."

"A Russian Manual" is the sub-heading of *The World's Work* for October, 1918; and indeed it presents a vast amount of information about Russia. Over eighty large pages are devoted to articles, maps, and illustrations bearing upon the political and economic conditions in various parts of the Russian territory. Twenty-seven colored maps indicate military problems, or show the origin and lines of exportation of the principal Russian products. The student of current history will find a vast amount of valuable information in this issue.

"War Relief Work" is discussed in a series of articles covering almost three hundred pages of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September, 1918. Eight general topics are treated in the volume, and under each a number of papers by experts is printed. The general subjects are: "War Relief in Europe and Canada," "The United States Bureau of War Risk Insurance," "Civilian Relief Work of the National Red Cross," "The Commission on Training Camp Activities," "Religious Organizations in War Relief Work," "The Council of National Defense," "The War Relief of Other Social Welfare Organizations," and "Financing War Relief."

Professor George H. Blakeslee has made a study of the foreign relations of democratic states, and reaches the conclusion that their policies have been toward aggression ("Will Democracy Alone Make the World Safe?" *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, October, 1917). He holds: "In fact, democracy alone—at least our familiar nationalistic democracy, for we need not consider the new socialistic Bolshevism—however much we value it and however fiercely we intend to fight for it, must be admitted to have exerted, up to the present time, a relatively small influence in hastening international peace. . . . If the world's democracies are to keep the peace, they too must follow this historic process and form some greater political organization; without relinquishing their sovereignty they must league themselves together to achieve certain common purposes. . . . If we should not succeed in forming such a league, no matter how badly our armies may defeat the German troops, no matter how thoroughly we may democratize the German state, we shall fail to achieve fully our great ultimate purpose in the war. For democracy alone will never make the world safe."

Drs. Charles A. Coulomb, Armand J. Gerson and Albert E. McKinley have prepared for the National Board for His-

torical Service, and the United States Bureau of Education has published (Teachers' Leaflet No. 4, August, 1918) an "Outline of an Emergency Course of Instruction on the War." The pamphlet opens with the statement that "the general topic of the war and America's part in it should form an integral part of the course of study in every grade of our public schools." Accordingly, distinct and graded suggestions are given for teaching the war in grades one and two, grades three and four, grades five and six, grades seven and eight, and high school grades. In grades one to four the work suggested centers around stories of war incidents, celebration of special holidays, the children's relation to the war, and an elementary treatment of what the country has done. In grades five and six a more detailed account is given of the war and the nation's part in it. In grades seven and eight an extended outline for a history of the war is provided. For the high school, a select list of topics is provided. The leaflet contains suggestions as to time allotment and methods of teaching; it gives typical lessons and biographies; and closes with a brief bibliography.

Professor Christian Gauss, in "Why We Went to War" (New York, Scribner's, 1918), reviews in three hundred pages of text the causes of the American entry into the war. He treats first of certain "fundamental antagonisms," and then discusses the causes and the occasion for the outbreak of war in Europe. Seven chapters follow, outlining the relation of the United States to the war, the growing antagonism to Germany, and the final challenge.

"The Background of the War" is the title of Volume I, Number 4, of *A League of Nations*. The pamphlet contains an account of the origin and formation of the Triple Alliance and of the Triple Entente. In addition to the narrative showing the steps in the formation of the two alliances, many documents are given which illustrate the Alliances of the European States.

The Memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky relating to his period of service in London as German Ambassador from 1912 to 1914 has been printed in the German text and an English translation by the American Association for International Conciliation. In its monthly pamphlet entitled, *International Conciliation* (No. 127, June 1918), Professor Munroe Smith has prepared an introduction and also the English translation of the Memorandum. The pamphlet also contains the reply of Herr von Jagow to the Lichnowsky Memorandum. A number of historical notes by Professor Smith and Mr. Henry F. Munro are appended.

Professors Earl E. Sperry and Willis M. West have prepared a pamphlet for the Red, White and Blue Series issued by the Committee on Public Information, entitled, "German Plots and Intrigues in the United States During the Period of Our Neutrality." The principal information contained in the document was taken from the files of the Department of Justice at Washington or from the records of trials conducted by officials of that department. The material is presented under seven heads, as follows: "Attempts to Prevent Exports of Military Supplies," "Attacks on Canada," "Attempts to Give Germany Military Aid," "Germany's Effort to Incite Revolution in India," "Co-operation with Irish Revolutionists in America," "Propaganda in German Interest," and "Finances of the German Agents."

"Lessons in Community and National Life" for the upper classes of the high school has appeared from the United States Bureau of Education. Lessons have been prepared under the direction of Professors Charles A. Judd and Leon C. Marshall, of the University of Chicago.

A timely study is the article by Professor L. B. Schmidt which appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* entitled, "The Influence of Wheat and Cotton on Anglo-American Relations During the Civil War." The author holds that while the masses of the English people suffered from the cutting off of the supply of cotton, yet it would have been dangerous for England to recognize the independence of the Confederacy. Such recognition might have led to war with the North, and this in turn would have destroyed the trade in wheat which was then more essential to the English people than their supply of cotton.

Four new numbers in the Old South Leaflets (Nos. 214-217) have appeared. They include selections from Abraham Lincoln's "Expressions on War and Peace" and selections from Walt Whitman's writings bearing upon the Civil War days.

Superintendent W. W. Earnest's "A War Catechism" has been reissued in a revised form. The pamphlet contains questions and answers concerning the great world war, its causes and progress, and America's part in it. Copies may be obtained from the author, Champaign, Illinois. (Price, according to binding, 10 or 15 cents.)

Professor Julian Park, of the University of Buffalo, has prepared an interesting pamphlet entitled, "Subject Peoples Under the Teutons," which appears in the *University Bulletin* for July, 1918 (Volume 6, Number 3). Professor Park treats in succession the Danes, the French, the Poles, the Bohemians, the South-Slavs, the Italians and the Russians under Teutonic domination. A brief bibliography is appended.

The papers upon the Russian Revolution and the Jugo-Slav Movement read at the American Historical Association at its Philadelphia meeting last December have been printed by the Harvard University Press (\$1.00, net) in a small volume. The contributors are Professor A. Petrunkevitch, Dr. Samuel N. Harper and Dr. F. A. Golder and Dr. Robert J. Kerner. Three appendixes give documents and bibliography bearing upon the subject.

War Citizenship Articles

By ROSCOE LEWIS ASHLEY

The Pasadena High School will issue, at cost, a BI-WEEKLY BULLETIN with Ashley Second Series of War Citizenship articles. Price to June 1st, payable in advance, twenty-five cents for single copies; twenty cents each fifty copies to one address. Get prices on other quantities. Have your school send its order in now.

HIGH SCHOOL CHRONICLE

Pasadena High School

PASADENA, CAL.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY PROFESSOR WAYLAND J. CHASE,
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN.

JARVIS, CHARLES H. *The Teaching of History*. New York: The Oxford Press, 1917. Pp. 240. \$1.80.

This is directed at the problems of teaching history in the grades from the first through the eighth, and is designed for those teachers who have had no definite historical training and who are not specializing in the teaching of history. It seeks to answer such questions as, Why should history be taught in the schools? What parts shall we select for our scheme? What books can we consult for our subject matter? What illustrations can we use? What place shall original sources have? How can we connect history with literature, art and handwork? The author arrives at the conclusion that the main purpose in history-teaching is to help the child to comprehend in some degree the present world of human thought and activity. There are undoubted ethical values indirectly obtained, such, for example, as the conception of obligation to the past and responsibility for the future, but it is vain to expect that knowledge of the development of government will necessarily make good future citizens out of pupils. He urges that "it is to the discipline of the school and its various institutions rather than to the direct lessons of the classroom that we must look for such training." As to the subject content, he says: "Let us begin with the remote past, not with the present. Children are usually much more interested in a primitive state of society far removed in time and condition from their own than in the complicated society of the present." As it is for teachers of English pupils that this book is designed, the pupils' effort is directed to English history. But though he recognized that some knowledge of general European history is needed to comprehend the history of England, he refuses to follow that will-o'-the-wisp, general history, saying: "A year or two spent in giving the children a cursory knowledge of the outlines of general history will be of little value. . . . The field is so wide and so crowded with figures, the facts are so numerous and so bewildering in complexity that little real history is learned. Either the children lose themselves in a maze of unintelligible generalizations, or the teacher is content to tell a string of stories about leading characters and events." His scheme, which attempts to combine the advantages of the concentric and the periodic methods, is in tabulated form as follows:

First and Second Years—Historical stories, legends and myths.

Third Year—Stories from British history.

Fourth Year—History of England from early times to 1485.

Fifth Year—History of England from 1485. Easier topics.

Sixth Year—History of England from 1485. Harder topics.

Seventh and Eighth Years—Modern England and some constitutional history.

To each of these sections of the subject a chapter is devoted, and generous lists of books are supplied to guide the teacher in his reading. Other chapters are devoted to the art of teaching through story-telling, to "learning by doing," and to illustrations. Four appendices are supplied, the first presenting an appraisal of the culture epoch theory, and the others containing lists of source material for English history, of general books, and of historical fiction. There is no index.

Some of his views run counter to American practice, for example, his advocacy of a textbook in several volumes because of the faults that inevitably accompany brevity. There is especial suggestiveness for the American teacher in his plan of use of source materials for pupils in the grades.

KENDALL, CALVIN NOYES, AND STRYKER, FLORENCE ELIZABETH. *History in the Elementary School*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918. Pp. 134. 75 cents.

This is one of the Riverside Educational Monographs, edited by Henry Suzzallo. In fifteen short chapters sound views are here expressed concerning the most approved purposes and methods of teaching history in elementary schools. Because of their brevity the statements giving the reasons for the authors' beliefs often appear dogmatic, and one wishes that they might be expanded for the benefit of the student. But they are based upon sound pedagogy. The book does not attempt to narrate the past of history teaching, nor does it exploit any pet theory or method; moreover, the balance is well maintained among the subdivisions of the subject. It may well serve as a text for normal school classes.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

TOUT, T. F. *Medieval Town Planning: A lecture delivered at the John Rylands Library, Manchester, 1917.*

In this little volume history again, as usual, when she is interrogated, answers that what seems new is also old. Babylon, Piræus, Bagdad, Kingston-on-Hull, Aigues Mortes, Batavia, Bloomsbury, Washington, Letchworth, and Port Sunlight are chance instances scattered through the ages of cities, towns or suburbs laid out according to the ideas or as a result of the power and influence of some one town planner. But such deliberately planned towns are not scattered through the ages evenly, and Professor Tout's main story is a description of some of the products of a certain definite period, from about 1220 to 1350, in which the instances of establishment of towns by individual monarchs, nobles or prelates, according to a preconceived plan, are especially plentiful.

This period includes the building of the numerous *bastides* of southern France, established by St. Louis, Alfonse, Count of Poitiers, Edward I, and their successors; of the towns attached to the castles built by the Edwards in Wales, and a number of individual instances of foundation of towns falling in the same period. A particularly interesting one of these scattered examples is Salisbury, whose location on the old hilltop of Roman and pre-Roman days had become by the thirteenth century far too contracted for its growing population, and was deliberately transferred by Bishop le Poer to a location on the level land two miles away. Other instances described in detail are Kingston, established in 1293 to succeed Ravenspur, which was fast disappearing into the sea, a new Winchelsea which had to be substituted for the old for the same reason, Flint, Carnarvon, Conway and Rhuddlen in Wales. These were towns that were made rather than grew, in their material aspects, as well as by the gifts of chartered privileges that really create a city or town. Their origin is still recognizable by the rectangular arrangement of streets and symmetrical placing of public buildings in their older parts.

Professor Tout refers to the much less ambitious program of the medieval than the modern planner of towns, preoccupied as the latter is with the attempt to avoid overcrowding, to secure good sanitary conditions and to make the life of the city dweller comfortable and happy. Curious

ously enough, he does not mention the artistic aspirations of the modern architect of towns which have given to his projects the general appellation of "the city beautiful." Like all the productions of the well endowed John Rylands Library of Manchester, this pamphlet—it is scarcely more—notwithstanding its cover, is handsomely printed and richly provided with illustrations, which add appreciably to its interesting and scholarly substance and useful book references. It provides much material which could be used by an intelligent teacher to enrich an historical course.

University of Pennsylvania.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

DEAN, ARTHUR D. *Our Schools in War Time—and After.* Boston: Ginn & Co., 1918. Pp. 335. \$1.25.

"Out of this war we are going to have a new spirit and method in education." "All that the schools are now doing in war time, and much more which they are not yet doing, to make the world safe for democracy, may be effectively used after war time to make democracy safe for the world." These sentences embody the spirit of Dr. Dean's book. In it he describes the various phases of work that have been undertaken in our schools, and in connection with boys and girls of school age outside of school hours, because of our war conditions. And he evaluates these war-time activities, not merely with reference to the present emergency, but especially with reference to their value as permanent additions to our educational program. Again quoting the author's words, we must "use the war to make better schools;" we must "train youth in the co-operative service of the State." The test of a school is its "capacity to respond to a national need or ideal."

The experiences of France and England are placed before the reader, chiefly as warnings against lowering the educational standards in war-time. Various experimental projects undertaken in this country are described in detail, and sensible comments are made with reference to their value. The author believes that the war activities that are being added should not crowd out the fundamental studies. He believes that there need be no conflict between the "practical" and the "cultural" subjects.

The book should be a safe and inspiring guide to those who are looking for assistance in this transitional stage of our national experience. It cannot, of course, furnish a ready-made program, but it does state some fundamental principles, and it shows some illuminating illustrations of the new educational ideas in action.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

ADKINS, FRANK J. *Historical Backgrounds of the Great War.* New York: Robert McBride & Co., 1918. Pp. 292. \$1.25.

This delightful little book was written by an Englishman who had been and still may be a teacher of history. He completed it before November, 1914, and it is therefore particularly interesting because his description and reflections are still so sound. The author, as he says, has "aimed rather at provoking thought than at imparting information; and if a critical reader undertakes to check his statements he will doubtless find the book affords much valuable exercise." But the prospective reader must not expect a lack of scholarship. The style is popular, and the author hopes it is suited to the younger pupils in the schools, but the person who reads the volume through will be sounder in his political thought and in his views on the present world situation than he was before.

Mr. Adkins gives the Germans full credit where they deserve it, and does not hesitate to call attention frankly to British shortcomings. But by doing so, he creates in the mind of the reader a confidence which makes him dangerous to those who practice abuses when he attacks them. All that he says is made human by a taste of dry humor which is too rare in most of our current historical works. When he has the Kaiser write to his wife:

"This comes to say, my dear Augusta,
We've had another awful buster.
Ten thousand Frenchmen sent below—
Praise God from whom all blessings flow,"

this quatrain from *Punch* explodes the Huns' hypocrisy as many a frothing oration could not do.

The following paragraph is a fair sample of the more serious reflections:

"Professor Vinogradoff describes the Russians as crusaders, and I think that enthusiasm in a great cause, which the term 'crusader' implies, is a notable characteristic of the Russians. They are a people of temperament and fervor, whereas their allies, the French, are a people of intellect and form, with the courage of their convictions by way of motive power. If the Frenchman embodies reason, the Russian embodies faith. The alliance is thus an alliance of the intellectual and the spiritual, with tenacity, the British bulldog, on the doorstep, not worried overmuch by ideas, ideals, art, and all those moulding forces, which, unfortunately, he would rather lease to his Allies."

It is a great pity that all of our historical scholars could not preserve the poise, based on deep conviction and confidence in the right, that this British author had in the darkest days of the war. We might well leave to the German scholars the hysteria of disappointed ambitions, and reserve for ourselves the force which comes from a sober statement of facts, which are sufficient to insure our position if we are right.

EDGAR DAWSON.

Hunter College of the City of New York.

BOTSFORD, G. W., AND J. B. *A Brief History of the World.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. xvi, 518. \$1.50.

Of the 518 pages of this book, 74 are devoted to index, bibliography, suggestions for topical reading and review questions. Another 45 pages, approximately, are used for illustrations. There remain, therefore, about 400 pages of actual text. To attempt to tell the history of the world in 400 pages is an ambitious task which reduces itself largely to the problem of elimination. It must be said that the authors have accomplished that elimination with much skill and have produced a book not only readable, but highly instructive. There is a sense of development from beginning to end, which is, unfortunately, so often absent in high school texts. This is attained by laying stress on social and economic conditions with far less attention to political institutions and political events. In fact, unless the narrative history were supplemented very considerably by topical reading, it is doubtful if the high school pupil would carry away very definite impressions from this book. The aim of the authors is "to provide a course of study for schools which give but a year to European history or which desire a general survey as a basis for more detailed work." If a place in the high school curriculum can be found for a treatise on world history which shall unite the more detailed course with world events, this book will serve that purpose admirably.

About one-tihrd of the space is given to ancient history from primitive times to the empire of Charlemagne; about one-sixth to medieval history, and about a half to conditions since the Renaissance. The treatment of the nineteenth century is perhaps the least satisfactory, the stirring events of that age in Europe being compressed into 12 pages and American history into 14. There is, however, a better chapter on imperialism, followed by a sketchy chapter on social conditions. It is obviously impossible to convey any definite picture of so big an epoch in such short space.

The limitations set to political history by the authors have reduced the narrative of the Stuart period to three and a half pages, and the demands of condensation have attached to this brief treatment a paragraph on political parties and another on cabinet government, which, inserted at this point, might be quite misleading. Condensation is again at fault, perhaps, in the statement that in the Peasants' Revolt (1381) "the peasants gained their point. They were at last free, for their victory marked the downfall of serfdom" (page 260). Inasmuch as the authors have, in their preface, disclaimed the intention of writing a political history, it would be ungenerous to criticize too severely the defects which must arise when there is a too drastic compression of plain narrative. It is, however, in this respect that the book seems least successful.

The sections dealing with the social and intellectual life, both in ancient and modern times, are particularly commendable. The social background of the transformation of the Roman Republic into the Empire is well painted, the life of the Renaissance well illustrated by the considerable space given to the city of Florence. The economic transformation of society in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is well brought out, and an especially good chapter is devoted to social life in France before the Revolution.

The numerous illustrations in the book have been chosen with unusual care, and are really helpful. At the end of each chapter are assignments for additional topical reading and numerous questions which would be helpful to a student in arranging his knowledge of the chapter, and in stimulating further reflection and study. There is a small, well selected bibliography.

H. M. VARRELL.

Simmons College.

THOMPSON, CHARLES MANFRED. *History of the United States, Political, Industrial, Social*. New York: Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., 1917. Pp. xx, 540. \$1.60.

In order to justify its existence, a new manual of United States history must have some mark of originality, something to distinguish it from the distressingly large number of mediocre texts now available. Professor Thompson has succeeded in meeting this requirement, at least in part, by making a radical break with custom in his selection of subject-matter. In the preface the author explains that his purpose is to emphasize "the industrial and social activities of the American people," and at the same time to include the "really important political movements." An examination of the work reveals the fact that out of eight chapters devoted to the period before 1789, five deal wholly with economic and social conditions; the next nine, reaching down to 1860, cover such topics as western expansion, manufactures, agriculture, commerce, banking, currency, transportation, and slavery; the three chapters devoted to the Civil War and Reconstruction relate almost entirely to economic and industrial problems of the period, while the last six discuss the various phases of economic and social

history down to 1917. The book thus makes available, in compact, handy form, a large amount of material which hitherto has been almost inaccessible to high school seniors and college freshmen, and many teachers will find it a helpful addition to their stock in trade.

It is unfortunate that both the author and his publishers announce that the volume is both an industrial and a political history, because the book itself by no means bears out the assertion. On the contrary, most readers will feel that the little political content that did find its way in is so limited in quantity that it could be entirely eliminated without in any way impairing the real value of the text.

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW.

Simmons College.

COOLIDGE, LOUIS A. Ulysses S. Grant. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917. Pp. 596. \$2.00, net.

A good history for "the general reader" is one in which the story moves rapidly and smoothly, being neither oppressed by weight of learning nor made trivial by artificial appeal to interest. This biography of Grant has these qualities. Besides, college students whose course covers this period of our history, will be interested in the author's estimates of Grant and his contemporaries.

The early life and the military career of Grant are covered in a little more than one-third of the book's pages. The chapters that deal with the campaigns of the Civil War are excellent; the essential movements stand out clearly, without unnecessary detail. Reconstruction conditions are not so strongly portrayed, though here, too, the narrative is clear. The problems of Grant's administration are satisfactorily treated. Grant's faults and mistakes are not hidden, but are plainly stated. They are regarded by the author as leading to the "superficial faults" of his administrations. The author's final estimate is that "In constructive achievements . . . Grant's administration ranks second only to that of Washington."

However one may regard this judgment, we shall certainly agree that the strong features of Grant's policies should be given due credit. The author has bent his efforts to this purpose, and at the same time has avoided blind eulogy.

ALBERT H. SANFORD.

State Normal School, La Crosse, Wis.

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State of Pennsylvania, } ss.
County of Philadelphia. }

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared Carl Little, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the business manager of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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CARL LITTLE.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 30th day of September, 1918.

JULIA M. O'BRIEN.

Two Standards of National Morality

BY THEODORE C. BLEGEN, A.M., INSTRUCTOR IN HISTORY, RIVERSIDE HIGH SCHOOL,
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

In periods of grave national stress a people turns with more earnestness than in ordinary times to the great leaders of its past. Present conduct and standards may be measured by their examples. In their deeds and words are sought counsel and inspiration. In the national historical thinking of America, Washington and Lincoln loom larger than ever before. Our two greatest statesmen and national heroes, they stand distinctly as ideals to us. We seek to apply to the needs of our own time their words of wisdom, examining anew the conditions under which they acted, and studying how they would act were they living now. Lincoln and Washington represent the truest and most ideal in Americanism. Each successfully piloted the nation in a period fraught with peril. Because we are now in the midst of a third great crisis in our national life, it is natural for us to study with renewed interest their problems, their characters, their principles and ideals.

Germany, similarly, has in its history two great figures standing conspicuously above all her other statesmen heroes. The leaders in Germany to-day turn to them with a respect and veneration akin to that which we feel for Washington and Lincoln. The model statesmen of Germany are Frederick the Great and Bismarck. Judged both by words and deeds, the present-day leaders of Germany are profoundly influenced by the teachings and examples of the Iron Chancellor and the greatest of the Hohenzollerns. A

recent United States government publication aptly refers to Frederick the Great as the "arch prophet of Prussianism," and as one whose utterances furnished the keynote to all his successors."¹

It is the purpose of this paper to suggest a comparison of the ideals and practices of Frederick the Great and Bismarck, on the one hand, with those of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, on the other. Every student of modern history is well acquainted with the history both of the United States and of Germany in the times of these four epoch-making figures. With that historical background, a few representative quotations are here presented to illustrate some of the more significant and influential of the principles of these four leaders who have so effectively molded the ideals of national morality in their respective countries. It cannot be questioned that one of the great, essential purposes of the world conflict is to settle finally "whether the American or the Prussian standard of morality is valid." In contemporary official utterances, the two standards of national morality may be excellently compared by studying in contrast the speeches and papers of President Wilson, and of former Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg or of Emperor William II. The President will be found to be in general harmony with Washington and Lincoln; the ideals of the Chancellor and of the Emperor are similar to those of Frederick the Great and Bismarck.

AMERICAN VIEWS

George Washington: "... Let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs that honesty is always the best policy."⁴

GERMAN VIEWS

Frederick the Great: "If a ruler must be ready to sacrifice his life for the welfare of his subjects, he must be still more ready to sacrifice, for the benefit of his subjects, solemn engagements which he has undertaken if their observance would be harmful to his people. ... Is it better that a nation should perish, or that a sovereign should break his treaty? Who can be stupid enough to hesitate in answering this question."² "If we are desirous of entering into a treaty with other powers and we remember that we are Christians, we are undone, we are always duped. As regards war, it is a trade in which the least scrupulous would spoil everything. Indeed, what man of honor would ever wage war, if he had not the right to make those rules permitting of plunder, fire, and carnage?"³

AMERICAN VIEWS

George Washington: "It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue?"⁸

George Washington: "Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all."¹²

George Washington: "... The foundations of our national policy will be laid in the pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of free government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world. I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness; between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right which heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered, perhaps, as *deeply, as finally*, staked on the experiment intrusted to the hands of the American people."¹⁸

GERMAN VIEWS

Frederick the Great: "If sovereigns wish to make war they are not restrained by arguments suitable for a public proclamation. They determine the course upon which they wish to embark, make war and leave to some industrious jurist the trouble of justifying their action."⁵ "The question of right is an affair of ministers. . . . It is time to consider it in secret, for the orders to my troops have been given."⁶ "Know once and for all that in the matter of kingcraft we take when we can, and that we are never wrong unless we have to give back what we have taken."⁷

Frederick the Great: "It is necessary to hide with care, and as much as possible, one's ambitious plans, and it is advisable to awaken envy among the European powers, for their division enables Prussia to strike. . . . Secrecy is a most important virtue both in statecraft and in war."⁹ "However, alliances by themselves do not suffice. It is necessary to have in one's neighbor States, and especially among one's enemies, agents who report faithfully all they see and hear. Men are bad. It is most necessary to protect oneself against being surprised."¹⁰ "When Kings play for provinces, men are merely gambling counters."¹¹

Frederick the Great: "In republics the government must, by its very nature, be peaceful, and the military must be kept down, for the politicians in power are afraid of generals who are worshipped by their troops and who may bring about a revolution. In republics men of ambition can obtain power only by intrigue. Thus corruption arises and destroys public morality. The true sense of honor is lost. All try to succeed by intrigue. Besides, in republics secrecy is never observed in matters of State. The enemy knows their plans beforehand and can foil them. . . ." ¹³ Precisely what Frederick implied by the true sense of honor is, to say the least, dubious. Witness the following, also from his royal hand: "If the Cabinet in Vienna can be gained to Prussia's interests by bribery, my Ambassador, von Bocke, had instructions given him on the 7th of this month to offer up to 200,000 thalers to the Grand Chancellor, Count Zinzendorff, and 100,000 thalers to the Secretary of State, Toussaint. If others have to be bribed, Count Gotter should let me know, and I will give my orders."¹⁴ The following passages, likewise, are of interest in this connection: "To keep up the role of an honest man with knaves is very perilous; to play a sharp game in the company of cheats is desperate. Success in such an attempt is very doubtful. What then is to be done? Either war or negotiation, just as your very humble servant and his minister are now doing. If there is anything to be gained by it, we will be honest; if deception is necessary, let us be cheats."¹⁵ Again: "Since it has been agreed upon among men that cheating one's fellow-men is a cowardly act, an expression has been sought for which

AMERICAN VIEWS

George Washington: "It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?"²³

Abraham Lincoln: "It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."²⁵

Abraham Lincoln: "Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?"²⁶ In his debate with Douglas, at Alton, Lincoln said, "That is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two

GERMAN VIEWS

might soften this act and the word politics has been chosen to that end. This word has most certainly been employed only in favor of sovereigns, because in decency we cannot be treated as rogues and rascals."¹⁶ Again: "But be that as it may, here is what I think of politics. My dear nephew, by the word politics I understand that we must seek to deceive others; it is a means of having the advantage, or at least of being on a par with the rest of mankind; for you may be absolutely certain that all the states of the world run the same career and that it is the hidden goal at which the high and the lowly of the world aim."¹⁷

Frederick the Great: "Politics of the State reduces itself to three principles: the first, to preserve, and, according to circumstances, to aggrandize one's self; the second, not to make any alliance except for one's own advantage; and the third, to make one's self feared and respected in the most untoward times."¹⁸ Again: "... Never blush for making alliances with a view to your being the only one to draw advantage from them. Do not commit the stupid mistake of not abandoning them whenever you believe that your interests are at stake, and especially maintain vigorously this maxim, that to despoil your neighbors is to take away from them the means of doing you injury."²⁰ Naturally the army had an all-important place in the ideas of a ruler who believed and practiced such principles. The instructions written by Frederick for the education of his nephew and heir have, in the main, guided all the later kings of Prussia in the education of their heirs. Frederick wrote, "It is very important that we should love the army. Therefore he must be told at all occasions and by all whom he meets that men of birth who are not soldiers are pitiful wretches."²¹ At another time he wrote, "I wish to convince my successors that it is necessary for every King of Prussia to make war his particular study and to encourage those who wish to take up the noble and dangerous profession of arms."²²

Otto von Bismarck: "Prussia must brace herself up for the fitter moment which has already more than once been missed; Prussia's borders are not favorable to the development of a healthy state. Not by speechifying and majorities can the great questions of the time be decided—that was the mistake of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron."²⁴

Bismarck: "The Prussian Crown must not allow itself to be thrust into the powerless position of the English Crown, which seems more like a smartly decorative cupola on the state edifice, than its central pillar of support, as I consider ours."²⁶ "I will rather perish with the King than forsake your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government."²⁷

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principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, 'You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."²⁹

Abraham Lincoln: "Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it."³⁵ "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our crowning battlements, our bristling seacoasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defence is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors."³⁶ "We—even we here—hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. . . . The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."³⁷

Abraham Lincoln: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."⁴⁰

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Bismarck: "When Prussia's power is in question I know no law."³⁰ "The only sound principle of action for a great state is political egoism, and not romanticism, and it is unworthy of such a state to strive for anything which does not directly concern it."³¹ "The durability of all treaties between great states is conditional as soon as it is put to the test 'in the struggle for existence.'"³² "Treaties are scraps of paper. All depends upon the manner of turning them to account. Even an excellent weapon, in inexperienced hands, may cause more damage than good."³³ "I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy; in Prussia's refusal to allow, in the present and in all other questions, anything to happen in Germany without her consent; and in the joint execution by the two protecting powers of Germany, with equal authority, of whatsoever they, Prussia and Austria, after joint independent deliberation, consider reasonable and politically justifiable."³⁴

Bismarck: "We Germans fear God, but nothing else in the world; and it is the fear of God that makes us love and cherish peace."³⁸ (A writer on modern history says, however, "Germany had been made not merely by 'blood and iron,' but also by fraud and falsehood. One can hardly tell the story of such gigantic audacity and successful trickery without seeming to glorify it. . . . Bismarck's methods were distinctly lower than Cavour's; and his success tended to lower the tone of morality among nations. His policy of fraud and violence, too, while successful at the moment, left Germany troubled with burning questions, and burdened with the crushing weight of militarism and with the rule of police in private life."³⁹ The fear of God and the love of peace, as asserted in boastful words by the Iron Chancellor, must naturally remind the reader of Frederick's reference to the "true sense of honor." Neither statement finds confirmation in the character and actions of its author.)

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President Wilson: "The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life."⁴⁵ "May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear."⁴⁶ "I am introduced to you as the President of the United States, and yet I would be pleased if you would put the thought of the office into the background and regard me as one of your fellow-citizens who has come here to speak, not the words of authority, but the words of counsel; the words which men should speak to one another who wish to be frank in a moment more critical perhaps than the history of the world has ever yet known; a moment when it is every man's duty to forget himself, to forget his own interests, to fill himself with the nobility of a great national and world conception, and act upon a new platform elevated above the ordinary affairs of life and lifted to where men have views of the long destiny of mankind."⁴⁷

President Wilson: "The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also, and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated; the enemy of four-fifths of the world."⁴⁸ "Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient."⁴⁹ "The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or power-

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Emperor William II: "The will of the King is the supreme law."⁴¹ "It is a tradition in our house that we regard ourselves as chosen by God to govern and guide the people over whom we are appointed to rule, so that we may promote their welfare and further their material and spiritual interests."⁴² "Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord, without regard for daily opinions and intentions, I go my way, which is devoted solely and alone to the welfare and peaceful development of the Fatherland."⁴³ "Remember that the German people are the chosen of God. On me, as German Emperor, the spirit of God has descended. I am His weapon, His sword, and His vice-regent."⁴⁴

William II: "It is to the Empire of the World that German genius aspires. God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress. The German people will be the block of granite on which our Lord will be able to elevate the civilization of the world."⁴⁵ "I hope it [Germany] will be granted, through the harmonious co-operation of princes and peoples, of its armies and its citizens, to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world-empire was, and that, just as in old times they said, 'Civis romanus sum,' hereafter, at some time in the future, they will say: 'I am a German citizen.'"⁴⁶ (It will be noted that the following statement is from an address made after the war began.) "The present situation is not the result of passing conflicts of interests or of diplomatic conjunctions; it is the result of an ill will which has been active for many years against the power and the prosperity of the German Empire. No lust of conquest drives us on; we are inspired by the unalterable will to protect the place in which God has set us for ourselves and all coming generations."⁴⁷ "The triumph of the greater Germany, which some day must dominate all Europe, is the single end for which we are fighting."⁴⁸ "We must be in a position to take to heart and to exemplify practically one of the finest utterances coined by the Iron Chancellor. We must so

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ful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.”⁵⁸ And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.”⁵⁹

President Wilson: “I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful. . . . I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.”⁶⁰ “I have spoken thus only that the whole world may know the true spirit of America; that men everywhere may know that our passion for justice and for self-government is no mere passion of words, but a passion which, once set in action, must be satisfied. The power of the United States is a menace to no nation or people. It will never be used in aggression or for the aggrandizement of any selfish interest of our own. It springs out of freedom and is for the service of freedom.”⁶¹ “But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.”⁶²

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live and act that we shall at all times say with him: ‘We Germans fear God and absolutely nobody and nothing else in the world.’”⁶³ “The German people is of one mind with its princes and its Emperor in the feeling that in its powerful development it must set up a new boundary post and create a great fleet which will correspond to its needs.”⁶⁴ “Germany’s greatness makes it impossible for her to do without the ocean—but the ocean also proves that even in the distance, and on its farthest side, without Germany and the German Emperor no great decision dare henceforth be taken. I do not believe that thirty years ago our German people, under the leadership of their princes, bled and conquered in order that they might be shoved aside when great decisions are to be made in foreign politics. If that could happen the idea that the German people are to be considered as a world-power would be dead and done for, and it is not my will that this should happen. To this end it is only my duty and my finest privilege to use the proper and, if need be, the most drastic means without fear of consequences.”⁶⁵ “We are the salt of the earth. . . .”⁶⁶

William II: “You have sworn loyalty to me; that means, children of my guard, that you are now my soldiers, you have given yourselves up to me, body and soul; there is for you but one enemy, and that is my enemy. In view of the present Socialistic agitations it may come to pass that I shall command you to shoot your own relatives, brothers, yes, parents—which God forbid—but even then you must follow my command without a murmur.”⁶⁷ “It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the army.”⁶⁸ “So we are bound together—I and the army—so we are born for one another, and so shall we hold together indissolubly, whether, as God wills, we are to have peace or storm.”⁶⁹ “The most important heritage which my noble grandfather and father left me is the army, and I received it with pride and joy. To it I addressed my first decree when I mounted the throne. . . . And leaning upon her, trusting upon our old guard, I took up my heavy charge, knowing well that the army was the main support of my country, the main support of the Prussian throne, to which the decision of God has called me.”⁷⁰ “When both are united (the army and the navy) I hope to be in a position, firmly trusting in the leadership of God, to carry into effect the saying of Frederick William I: ‘If one wishes to decide anything in the world, it cannot be done with the pen unless the pen is supported by the force of the sword.’”⁷¹

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President Wilson: "A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy."⁷¹

President Wilson: "Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion, and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for."⁷³ "It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors."⁷⁴ "The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality."⁷⁵

President Wilson: "An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess."⁷⁷ "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundation of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them."⁷⁸

President Wilson: "Our object . . . is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed

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William II: "And just as the great King was never left in the lurch by the old Ally, so our Fatherland and this beautiful province will always be near His heart."⁶⁸ "This consciousness gives me the certainty that we shall conquer everywhere, even though we be surrounded by enemies on all sides; for there lives a powerful ally, the old, good God in heaven, who, ever since the time of the Great Elector and of the great King, has always been on our side."⁶⁹ "Go forward with God, who will be with us as He was with our fathers."⁷⁰

William II: "As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends to-day, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds, that no Chinese shall ever again dare even to look at a German askance. . . . Open the way for Kultur once for all."⁷²

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg: "We are now in a state of necessity and necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied [neutral] Luxemburg, and perhaps already have entered Belgium territory. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law. The wrong—I speak openly—the wrong we hereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who is menaced as we are, and is fighting for his highest possession, can only consider how he is to hack his way through."⁷⁶

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, as reported officially by the British Ambassador after an important interview: "I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began an harangue

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peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles." ⁸⁰ "We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states." ⁸¹

These contrasted quotations represent two distinct and irreconcilable conceptions or standards of national morality. The practices and the words of Washington and Lincoln constitute a legacy which is carefully preserved and more highly treasured by each passing generation. This legacy has been incorporated as a significant part of those traditions of national honor and national conduct which the people of the United States and the government of the people revere. Fundamentally, the ideals that we are now fighting for are the enduring ideals to which both Washington and Lincoln devoted their lives. Liberty, democracy, national honesty and integrity, the rights of humanity, respect for treaty obligations, justice between man and man as well as internationally, for small and great nations alike—what are these but the great basic principles for the establishment and preservation of which our two greatest Presidents labored?

On the other hand, oppression, intrigue, selfishness, national dishonesty, unscrupulousness, ruthlessness, the glorification of might, the defense of international wrong-doing, autocratic government, the acceptance of one standard of conduct for individuals and another for nations—are not these the historical heritage bequeathed to their successors by Germany's two greatest statesmen, and has not the evidence now before the world court of public opinion proved these things to be entirely characteristic of Germany in the present war? These principles and ideals have, in truth, been developed, expanded, and publicly taught for decade after decade by leading German historians, philosophers, teachers, publicists, militarists, and statesmen. They have even been preached from the pulpit. The result of it all was a world war. The grim truth has been impressed upon our minds as we have reluctantly made our way into the mire of the writings and teachings of such men, to mention but a few, as Fichte, Nietzsche, von Treitschke, Hegel, Delbrück, Clausewitz, von Bernhardi, Lasson, Rümelin, Arndt, von Gierke, Kahl, and Tannenberg. Through the influence of such writers, supporting their rulers and statesmen, these false ideas have been made into a philosophy, a guide to action, with the deification of the state as the point of departure. This philosophy, with an insidiously growing volume, has saturated Germany. Fortunately for English readers, the essential teachings of the writers mentioned and of many other repre-

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which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by His Majesty's government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—'neutrality,' a word which in war-time had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her. . . . " ⁷⁹

sentative modern Germans have been brought together in several excellent and trustworthy compilations. Especially worthy of note are Archer's "Gems (?) of German Thought" and Bang's "Hurrah and Hallelujah." The best of its kind, however, is Notestein and Stoll's "Conquest and Kultur." In a remarkable foreword to that publication, Dr. Guy Stanton Ford writes: "The pious pipers of Prussianism who have led the German people to conquest and to ignominy and to infamy are here given their unending day before the court of public opinion. It is a motley throng who are here heard in praise of war and international suspicion, and conquest and intrigue and devastation—emperors, kings, princes, poets, philosophers, educators, journalists, legislators, manufacturers, militarists, statesmen. Line upon line, precept upon precept, they have written this ritual of envy and broken faith and rapine. Before them is the war god to whom they have offered up their reason and their humanity, behind them the misshapen image they have made of the German people, leering with blood-stained visage over the ruins of civilization."

No candid searcher for truth, who raises the two standards of national morality contrasted in this paper, into the clear light of honest scrutiny, can for an instant hesitate in declaring that the Prussian standard is false, hideously false. Events have demonstrated with terrible distinctness that it is not only false, but a fearful menace to the civilization of the world. There is a menace in the fact, as Mr. Vernon Kellogg has observed, ⁸² that the Germans really believe what they say. The double standard of morality must be done away with; what is false and wrong for individuals cannot be true and right for nations. Does not the solution, then, of the world's great problem, lie in the complete acceptance of the principle, put into words by Washington and repeated by President Wilson, that "the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states?"

"He who is menaced as we are," said the German Chancellor, "can only consider how he is to hack his way through." Shall the Germans hack their way through truth itself, through honesty, through virtue, through the sacred rights of other peoples, great and small? Shall they hack their way through the fabric

of the best civilization that the world has known? Shall they hack their way through the liberty and the democracy of the world, leaving in place of these wonderful products of the world's history nothing but a gross, conscienceless, merciless, military autocracy? Shall the ideals of Frederick the Great, Bismarck, and William II crush to earth the ideals

of Washington, Lincoln, and President Wilson? The liberty-loving nations of the world say, No. The sinister purposes of Germany stand challenged, and a line stretches from the Channel to Switzerland which is answering Germany with Germany's own highest form of argument, might, with bullets and shells and the bodies of men.

Notes to Preceding Selections

¹ "The War Message and Facts Behind It," footnote 21. (War Information Series, Number 1, June, 1917.)

² J. Ellis Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 85-86. (New York, 1916.)

³ James Brown Scott, "A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany, August 1, 1914, to April 6, 1917," xxx. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1917.)

⁴ The farewell address. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I, 223.

⁵ Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 85.

⁶ Perkins, "France Under Louis XV," I, 169-170.

⁷ Scott, *op. cit.*, title page.

⁸ The farewell address. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I, 221.

⁹ Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹² The farewell address. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I, 221.

¹³ Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 29.

¹⁴ Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 29.

¹⁵ Scott, "A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany," xxii.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, xxii-xxiii.

¹⁸ The first inaugural. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I, 52-53.

¹⁹ Scott, "A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany," xxiii-xxiv.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, xxiii.

²¹ Barker, "The Foundations of Germany," 26.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ The farewell address. Richardson, "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," I, 220.

²⁴ Scott, "A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany," xli.

²⁵ From the Gettysburg address.

²⁶ Charles Downer Hazen, "Europe Since 1815," 252. (New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1910.)

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 251.

²⁸ First inaugural address. See John H. Hammond and Marion Miller (editors), "The Works of Abraham Lincoln," V, 145. (New York, C. S. Hammond & Co., 1908.)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, IV, 180.

³⁰ Notestein and Stoll, "Conquest and Kultur," 24. (Issued by the Committee on Public Information, edition of January, 1918.)

³¹ Hazen, "Europe Since 1815," 253.

³² Scott, "A Survey of International Relations Between the United States and Germany," xlv.

³³ *Ibid.*, xlvii.

³⁴ Hazen, "Europe Since 1815," 253.

³⁵ Peroration of the Cooper Union address, delivered in New York City, February 27, 1860. "The Works of Abraham Lincoln," V, 42.

³⁶ "The Works of Abraham Lincoln," III, 230.

³⁷ Annual message, December 1, 1862. *Ibid.*, VI, 81.

³⁸ From a speech in the German Imperial Diet, February 6, 1888. It should be noted that this statement was made after, not before, the series of wars which resulted in the German Empire. For the speech and the passage quoted, see Charles Dudley Warner (editor), "Library of the World's Best Literature," IV, 1958. (New York, 1897.)

³⁹ W. M. West, "The Modern World," 590-591. (Boston, New York, Chicago, Allyn & Bacon, 1915.)

⁴⁰ Second inaugural address, March 4, 1865. "Why do these words, uttered near the bitter end of a long war, touch us so deeply, and thrill us year after year? Because in them the finest morality of the individual American is identified at last with the morality of the nation. The words consecrate the loftiest of all American ideals, namely, that the conduct of the nation shall be inspired by a humanity so pure and exalted that the humanest citizen may realize his highest ideals in devotion to it." Stuart P. Sherman, "American and Allied Ideals," 22. (War Information Series, Number 12.)

⁴¹ A sentence written by the Kaiser in the Visitors' Book in the Town Hall of Munich. Quoted in West, "The Modern World," 658.

⁴² From an early speech, quoted in Paxton, Corwin, and Harding, "War Cyclopedia," 305. (Committee on Public Information, Red, White and Blue Series.)

⁴³ An excerpt from a speech at Königsberg, August 25, 1910. Christian Gauss, "The German Emperor as Shown in His Public Utterances," 284. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915.)

⁴⁴ From one of the Kaiser's proclamations to the German Army. W. F. Giese, "German Autocracy and Militarism," 5. (University of Wisconsin War Pamphlet, Number 15.)

⁴⁵ Annual message to Congress, December 4, 1917. "War, Labor and Peace," 20. (Committee on Public Information, Red, White and Blue Series, Number 9.)

⁴⁶ Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917. "How the War Came to America," 21. (Red, White and Blue Series.)

⁴⁷ Address to the American Federation of Labor, at Buffalo, New York, November 12, 1917. "War, Labor and Peace," 7.

⁴⁸ Herbert Adams Gibbons, "The New Map of Europe," 31.

⁴⁹ From a speech at Saalburg, October 11, 1900. Gauss, 169.

⁵⁰ Address at the opening of the special session of the Reichstag, August 4, 1914. Gauss, 326.

⁵¹ From a speech by the Kaiser made in 1915. Quoted in Frederic A. Ogg, "Germany's Ambition for World Power," 3. (University of Wisconsin War Pamphlet, Number 9.)

⁵² From a speech delivered at Hamburg on June 23, 1914—five days before the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. Gauss, 322.

⁵³ Address at Berlin, February 13, 1900. Gauss, 158.

⁵⁴ At Kiel, July 3, 1900. Gauss, 162-163.

⁵⁵ Speech at Bremen, March 22, 1905. Gauss, 239.

⁵⁶ In the reply to the Pope's peace proposal, August 27, 1917. "War, Labor and Peace," 4.

⁵⁷ Annual message to Congress, December 5, 1917. Ibid, 21.

⁵⁸ In the reply to the Pope. Ibid, 5.

⁵⁹ Address to the Senate, January 22, 1917. "How the War Came to America," 20.

⁶⁰ In an address to recruits to the regiment of the Kaiser's Guard, Potsdam, November 23, 1891. Gauss, 74-75.

⁶¹ In connection with laying a corner-stone of a church in Berlin. Quoted in Notestein and Stoll, "Conquest and Kultur," 34.

⁶² Proclamation to the army upon accession, June 15, 1888. Gauss, 28.

⁶³ In a speech to the Royal Guard, at Potsdam, June 16, 1898. Gauss, 121-123.

⁶⁴ Berlin, February 13, 1900. Gauss, 157.

⁶⁵ In the address to the Senate, January 22, 1917. "How the War Came to America," 22.

⁶⁶ Address of February 11, 1918, to Congress. "War, Labor and Peace," 39.

⁶⁷ The war message, April 2, 1917. "The War Message and Facts Behind It," 27.

⁶⁸ From an address delivered September 8, 1906, at Breslau, where the Kaiser and four of his sons had on the same day dedicated a monument to Frederick the Great. Gauss, 246.

⁶⁹ At Berlin, March 28, 1901. The exact words used by the Kaiser, in referring to God, were *Der alte, gute Gott*. Gauss, 174.

⁷⁰ The words occur in a proclamation to the German people, August 6, 1914. Gauss, 329. In connection with these curious and blasphemous sayings of the Kaiser, the reader should study J. P. Bang's remarkable book, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," as translated from the Danish by Jessie Bröchner (New York, George H. Doran Co., 1917), especially chapter six, which discusses the German Pastor Walter Lehmann's book, *Vom deutschen Gott*.

⁷¹ Concluding words of the annual message of December 4, 1917. "War, Labor and Peace," 24-25. The President's noble words call to mind a simple remark of Abraham Lincoln, made in answer to an expressed hope that the "Lord was on our side." President Lincoln answered, "I am not at all concerned about that, for I know that the Lord is always on the side of the right. But it is my constant anxiety and prayer that I and this nation should be on the Lord's side." "The Works of Abraham Lincoln," V, 273-274.

⁷² Speech to his soldiers at Bremerhaven before their departure for China in 1900. Dana C. Munro, G. C. Sellery, and August C. Krey, "German War Practices, Part I, Treatment of Civilians," 7. (Red, White and Blue Series, Number 6.) Lawlessness, ruthlessness, and terrorism here receive their official sanction from the War Lord. That they have long constituted a cold-blooded program in connection with the German military plans is amply proved not only by the behavior of the German troops in China and their practice of *Schrecklichkeit* in the present war, but by the brutal instructions contained in the official German War Code, *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*. For a telling summary, see Scott and Garner, "The German War Code, Contrasted with the War Manuals of the United States, Great Britain, and France." (War Information Series, Number 11, February, 1918.) See also E. B. McGilvary, "What Frightfulness Means." (University of Wisconsin War Pamphlet, Number 10.)

⁷³ "The War Message and Facts Behind It," 23.

⁷⁴ In annual message to Congress, December 4, 1917. "War, Labor and Peace," 17.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 24.

⁷⁶ Speech to the Reichstag, August 4, 1914. Quoted in "War Message and Facts Behind It," footnote 24.

⁷⁷ From the address to Congress of January 8, 1918. "War, Labor and Peace," 32.

⁷⁸ "The War Message and Facts Behind It," 23.

⁷⁹ The British Blue Book, Number 1, document number 160.

⁸⁰ "The War Message and Facts Behind It," 15.

⁸¹ Ibid, 15-16.

⁸² *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1917, p. 145.

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